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MURSHID QULI KHAN'S REGULATIONS REGARDING PRICE AND SUPPLY OF RICE

ABDUL KARIM*

Sultan Ala-al-Din Khalji of Delhi is immortalised in history for his price control system. He controlled the price of food-stuffs, cloths, horses etc. to keep his large army contented with low salaries paid by him. In Bengal also, at least one ruler made regulations, though not so elaborate as those of Delhi, to keep the supply of rice steady in the market and the price low. He was Murshid Ouli Khan, who served in Bengal in various capacities from 1704 and died as *Nazim* in 1727. Whatever might be his official position, he was the person who controlled the administration in Bengal from 1704 until his death. (30 June 1727).[1]

Munshi Salim Allah, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Bangalah* and the earliest Muslim historian to give an account of the career and administration of Murshid Quli Khan, writes as follows.[2]

واوقات اوبرضای خالق ورفاه خلایق مصروف بود ودرارزانی
غلات سعی وافرداشت - وذخایربمردم متمول نمی گذاشت وهفته
هفته نرخ برنج مخفی بدست غلامان ومزدوران وزنان ریزه از
بازارمی طلبید - اگر یکدام افزودمی شد بیوپاریان ومحالداران
وکیلان را طلبیده تیردرپینی انداخت وسیاست می کرد وبرخو-
نشانده تشهیر می نمود - واگرآمدنی رسدروبکمی می آورد ونالش
کرانی می رسید داروغه رسد ازحضور خود مقرر کرده در مفصل
می فرستاد - رعایت احدی منظورنداشته انبار(و) ذخایررا شکسته
بشهر می اوردند وارزانی روی داد -

---

* Prof. Abdul Karim, Deptt. of History, Chittagong University.

[1]For Murshid Quli Khan's career see, A. Karim : *Murshid Quli Khan and his Times*, Dacca 1963 (hereafter referred to as *M. Q. K.*), pp. 15-60. Murshid Quli Khan received various titles from the Mughal emperors, the last one being Mutamin-al-Mulk Ala al-Daulah Jafar Khan Nasiri Nasir Jang Bahadur. But he is better known by his earlier title Murshid Quli Khan.

[2]Munshi Salim Allah : *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, ed. S.M. Imamuddin, Dacca, 1979, pp. 86-87,

درعمل و فی روپیه چهار پنج من برنج در مرشد باد بازار سی ارزید و اجناس دیگر علی هذا القیاس ارزان بود - وغربا و مساکین آسوده و مرفه الحال بودند وتجاران وکلاه پوشان سوای برنج خوراکی غلات برای تجارت بالای جهازبار نمی توانستند کرد - واحداث کنج وکوله انبا غله باینما ممنوع بود - وفوجدار بندر هرکلی داروغه ممانعت وقدغن حمل غلات پیش از وسم جهازات در مصبرهای کهارو تعدن می ساخت وسوای مقدار قوت واقعه یکدانه نمی گذاشت -

"He dovoted his time in seeking the approbation of his creator and well-being of the people and he made exertions to keep the price of food-grains cheap and did not allow rich people to hoard stock of grains. He collected reports secretly about the price of rice weekly, from the market, through slaves, servants and little girls. If there was increase in price by one *dam,* he called the *beparies, mahaldars* and weighmen and had the arrow penetrated through their eyes and punished them and had them patrolled through the city seated upon ass. If the supply of food-grains was short, and complaints were received from any quarter, *daroghah* of supply was appointed by himself and sent to the *mofussil* (outlying areas); without showing favour to any body, they broke upon the godowns, brought supplies to the city and made them cheap.

"During his administration the price of rice in Murshidabad was 4 or 5 maunds of the standard bazar weight per rupee, and other articles were similarly cheap and the poor and destitutes lived in ease and peace. The traders and capwearers (meaning European merchants) were not allowed to take in their vessels food-grains for trade (or export) beyond these needed for actual consumption. The hoarding in the *ganjes* and *golahs* or godowns by them was prohibited. Before the shipping season, the *faujdar* of Hugli appointed preventive officers in the harbour to see that not a single grain goes out beyond what is needed as their provisions".

To sum up, Murshid Quli Khan introduced the following regulations :-

(1) The hoarding of food-grains by rich persons was prohibited,
(2) The price of food-grains in the market was kept low,
(3) Information regarding price in the market was collected secretly,
(4) Steps were taken for steady supply of food-grains to the market,
(5) Trading in rice by foreign merchants was prohibited and
(6) Export of food-grains was prohibited and steps were taken to enforce this regulation.

The regulations road like those of Ala al-Din Khalji, the differences being that, like Delhi price was not fixed in Bengal and that like Bengal there was no prohibition of export in Delhi as there was no need there for such prohibition. Since price was not fixed, Murshid Quli Khan did not make any such elaborate administrative arrangement to check the price, as was done in Delhi, the barbarity with which Ala al-Din Khalji had made his regulations effective, is also absent in Bengal. Salim Allah's evidence that, if one *dam* was raised in price, the *beparis*, *mahaldars* and weighmen were punished by penetrating arrow into their eyes, and parading them in the streets seated on ass, is probably an exaggeration. When price was not fixed, there could not be such barbarous punishment. We may, however, conjecture that Murshid Quli Khan punished the traders if the price rose higher than usual and if the weighmen weighed less than the actual weight, but the nature of punishment cannot be determined. Though there is a sufic interpretation that Ala al-Din Khalji controlled the price to give succour to the general people (*hamah-Khalq*)[3] actually the price control system was introduced only in the capital city of Delhi and mainly in the interest of the army. Murshid Quli Khan's regulations were also confined to the capital city of Murshidabad only, except that the prohibition of export of rice was meant for the benefit of the whole of Bengal.

Munshi Salim Allah wrote his *Tarikh-i-Bangalah* in 1763 i. e. 36 years after the death of Murshid Quli Khan. The author might have seen the working of the regulations but unfortunately he does not give details about it. Ghulam Husain Salim in his *Riyad al-Salatin* written 61 years after the death of Murshid Quli khan and 25 years after Salim Allah's *Tarikh-i-Bangalah*, also gives the same information, rather he copies from Salim Allah almost verbatim.[4] But Ghulam Husain differs with Salim Allah in giving the price of rice ; while Salim Allah says that rice was sold at Murshidabad at 4/5 maunds per rupee, according to Ghulam Husain, the price was 5/6 maunds per rupee. Ghulam Husain also does not refer to penetrating the arrow through the eyes of the *beparis* etc. but simply says that "he (Murshid Quli Khan) had the dealers, *mahaldars* and weighmen punished in various forms, and had them patrolled through the city, placed upon asses." Ghulam Husain further writes that, "By spending one rupee in a month, people ate *polao* and *qalia* daily."

Both Salim Allah and Ghulam Husain Salim are later writers, but we have a contemporary evidence in the records of the East India Company at Calcutta, supporting the last point of the regulations i.e. prohibition of export

[3]K.S.Lal : *History of the Khaljis*, Allahabad, 1950, p. 267.

[4]Riyaz-us-Salatin, tr. Abdus Salam, Delhi reprint, 1975 (hereafter referred to as Riyaz), pp. 280-81.

of rice. In 1726-27, there was a *rupture* in the relationship between Murshid Quli Khan's government and the English Company ; as a result the Company's trade at Qasimbazar and other places was stopped several times and the Company's *Wakil* at Qasimbazar was imprisoned.[5] For long, the Calcutta Council could not find out the reason for such attitude of the government, but at last it became clear to them through a letter from the Qasimbazar factory. The complaint of the government against the Company was that, the Company's factors and local agents had been indulging not only in private trade under cover of the Company's *dastak,* but also were dealing in rice which was prohibited, and that there was a general talk in the government circle at Murshidabad that 2 lakh maunds of rice had been sent down to Calcutta and that the Company's servants had sold them in their own account.[6]

The English Company records, therefore, confirm that Murshid Quli Khan's government prohibited dealing in and export of rice. When one point of Salim Allah's evidence is confirmed by a contemporary reliable source, the other points may also be taken as true, because the Company records prove beyond doubt that Murshid Quli Khan was keen to keep the price down. But how far the regulation prohibiting the export of rice could be made effective is a question that needs further consideration. The English Company did not export rice to Europe, generally they did not deal in rice but they bought and stocked rice to feed their trading stations in Bengal, and occasionally exported rice to their settlements in other parts of the Indian subcontinent, if, there, the price rose high. But rice was exported from Bengal by the Company's servants in their private accounts. So their accounts of exports are not available in the Company's records. Rice was also exported by other companies e.g. the Dutch to Ceylon, Madras etc. and private traders of other countries, like those of Arabia, Persia, Armenia and also by traders of other provinces of the Indian subcontinent. Their accounts are also not available. But the records of the English Company give us some information about the export of rice during the time of Murshid Quli Khan. In 1704, the Company exported rice to fort St. George at Madras but the quantity is not mentioned.[7] In 1707 the Company sent 5 thousand maunds of rice and 1200 maunds of wheat and in 1709 sent 10 thousand maunds of rice and 6 hundred maunds of wheat to Madras.[8] In 1717 the Company sent to Madras one thousand bags of rice, 500 bags of

[5]For details see *M.Q.K.*, pp. 188-89.

[6]India Office Records, *Bengal Public Consultations* (hereafter referred to as *B.P.C.*) dated 20 March, 1727.

[7]*B.P.C,* 19 February, 1704.

[8]*Ibid.,* 31 July 1707, 28 March, 1709.

wheat and 200 jars of oil.[9] As for the export of private traders, there is only one reference in the records of the Company. In 1705, the Company issued pass to a ship called Fazal Ilahi, carrying 7000 maunds of piece goods, sugar and rice bound for Persia.[10] Since the piece goods are not heavy materials, most of those 7 thousand maunds contained rice and sugar.

We do not know, since when exactly, Murshid Quli Khan prohibited the export of rice, or whether the ban was in force throughout the whole period of his administration. The little information that we have at our disposal shows that export was made in 1704, 1705, 1707, 1709 and 1717. From 1717 to 1726 no reference of export is available. It may be that information about export in these years is not available, or it may be that the ban on export was imposed after 1717. Whatever that may be, it is very doubtful whether Murshid Ouli Khan could make his regulation on prohibition of export effective. The Government could not effectively control the trade under cover of the Company's banner and had no means to control the sea and the sea-borne trade. Munshi Salim Allah states that the *faujdar* of Hughli appointed preventive officer to see that no rice was exported. But whether he could implement the regulation is open to question, because even if he succeeded in doing so at Hughli, the traders could infringe the regulation at Calcutta under cover of the English protection.

The next question that needs consideration, is what were the factors that prompted Murshid Quli Khan to try to keep the price of rice down. Was there an upward tendency in the price of rice in his time ? To answer this question, we have to make a survey of the price of rice in Bengal in the Muslim period, though materials for such a survey are extremely meagre.

Among the Muslim historians, Ghulam Husain Salim, a later but the first writer of a complete history of Muslim rule in Bengal, has given the price of rice in the times of Shaista Khan and Sarfaraz Khan. We propose to discuss the evidence of Ghulam Husain Salim elaborately to clear some confusions made by himself.

Paying glowing tributes to the administration of Amir al-Umara Shaista Khan in Bengal (1663—1678, 1679—1688), he writes as follows :—

"Traces of beneficent administration of the Nawab Amir-ul-Umara (Shaista Khan) are known not only in Bengal, but throughout Hindustan. One is this, that during his Nizamat the cheapness of food-grains was so great that for a *damri*, one seer of rice could be purchased in the market. At the time of his return to the Capital Shahjahanabad (Delhi) he caused the follow-

[9] *Ibid.*, 18 July, 1717.
[10] *Ibid.*, 1 February, 1705.

ing inscription to be engraved on the Western gate of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) : 'Let him only open this gate that can show the selling rate of rice as cheap as this'. From his time onward till the *regime* of Nawab Shujaud-din Muhammad Khan, this gate remained closed. In the period of the viceroy-alty of Nawab Sarfaraz Khan, the gate was again opened, as will be mentioned hereafter."[11]

Later, writing on the administration of Shuja 'al-Din Muhammad Khan (*Nazim* from 1727 – 1739), the same historian writes, "When the Deputy Nizamat of Odisah (Orissa) was conferred on Murshid Quli Khan Rustam Jung,[12] the Deputy Nizamat of the Chaklah of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) was bestowed on Sarfaraz Khan.[13] The latter appointed as his Deputy-Governor Ghalib 'Ali khan, who was a scion of the Royal family of Persia, and deputed Ghalib 'Ali Khan to Dacca. Sarfaraz Khan also appointed Jasunat Rai,[14] the late Nawab Jafar Khan's Secretary, and his own tutor-guardian, to be the Diwan and Minister of that place, and sent him to Dacca, in company of Ghalib 'Ali Khan. And out of regard for Nafisa Begum, his sister, he bestowed the office of Superintendent of the *Nawarah* (War-Vessels) on Murad 'Ali Khan, son of Syed Razi Khan.[15] The control over Fiscal and Home affairs, and the management of Crown-lands, *Jagirs*, War-vessels, Artillary, Accounts and Customs-house were all entrusted to Munshi Jasunat Rai. In that the aforesaid Munshi had been trained up by Nawab Jafar Khan, by dint of honesty and integrity, by thorough attention to detail and by ripe wisdom, he effected not only an increase in the State revenue, but secured the happiness of the people. He completely abolished the system of *Sauda-i-Khas*,[16] and banished the exactions and innovations introduced by Mir Habib, during the *regime* of Murshid Quli Khan.[17] Putting forth laudable efforts to keep down the selling rates of food-grains, and effecting cheapness in their prices, he threw open the Western gate of the Fort of

[11]Riyaz, p. 228.

[12]His original name was Mirza Lutf Allah and he was the son-in-law of Shuja al-Din Muhammad Khan. He also got the title of Murshid Quli Khan. He should not be confused with Murshid Quli Khan who died in 1727.

[13]Son of Shuja al-Din Muhammad Khan and maternal grand son of Murshid Quli Khan (died 1727). He later became *Nazim* of Bengal (1739-40).

[14]Jaswant Rai or Jasovanta Rai.

[15]Sayed Radi Khan, husband of Nafisa Begum and father of Murad 'Ali Khan was the Diwan of Bengal during the time of Murshid Quli Khan. He died in 1720. Murad 'Ali Khan later became the son-in-law of Sarfaraz Khan.

[16]*Sauda-i-Khas*, i.e. the private trade of His Excellency the Nawab Mir Jumla, Shaista Khan and Azim Al-Shan, grand son of Aurangazib, indulged in private trade during their respective periods. It was illegal, because it was for self-interest and also without permission of the emperor.

[17]Mirza Lutf Allah, Murshid Quli Khan II.

Jahangirnagar (or Dacca), which Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Shaista Khan had closed, inscribing on it a prohibition to the effect that no one should open it, untill he succeeded in reducing the price of food-grains to one seer of the bazar weight per *Dirham*."[18]

Here we draw the attention of scholars to the contradictions found in both the passages quoted above from the *Riyad.* In the first passage, it is stated that the gate closed by Shaista Khan remained so, "till the *regime* of Nawab Shujaud-din Muhammad Khan" and was re-opened "during the period of the viceroyalty of Sarfaraz khan." But in the second passage it is contradicted by saying that the gate was re-opened when Sarfaraz Khan was appointed the Deputy Nazim of Dhaka during the *regime* of his father Shuja al-Din Muhammad Khan. Sarfaraz Khan was appointed Deputy Nazim of Dhaka in 1734, he was an absentee Deputy Nazim there, remaining in the Capital, but administered Dhaka through his Deputy Ghalib 'Ali Khan who was assisted by the Diwan Jasunat Rai. These two persons Ghalib 'Ali Khan and Jasunat Rai, established a good government at Dhaka, but Sarfaraz Khan did a great mistake by sending his nephew Murad 'Ali Khan as the Superintendent of the *Nawara.* The latter was a man of oppressive character, but Sarfaraz Khan showed further favours to him ; he was made his son-in-law and was appointed his Deputy at Dhaka replacing Ghalib 'Ali Khan. Ghulam Husain Salim gives a good account of this and says, "At the desire of Nafisa Begum, Murad 'Ali Khan was married to a daughter of Sarfaraz Khan, and was appointed Deputy Governor of Jahangirnagar (Dacca) in the place of Ghalib 'Ali Khan. Murad 'Ali Khan now promoted Raj Balab, a clerk attached to the Admiralty, to the office of Peshkar thereof, and commenced oppressions. Munshi Jasunat Rai, who had acquired a good name amongst the people, apprehending that his reputation might be tarnished, resigned his office of Diwan, and the Province of Jahangirnagar or Dacca turned to desolation through the tyranny of the new oppressive deputy nazim."[19] On this point, some information are available in the English records. In their Consultations of 1st August, 1737, the Dacca Council records as follows :—

"In April last arrived here from Maxodavad (Makhsusabad, i.e. Murshidabad) one Saidradgecaun (Syed Radi Khan) who is contracted to be married to a favourite daughter of Suffragacaun (Sarfaraz Khan) he has the post Toop Canna (Topkhana) and Nawwara Droga (darogha), Phoussdar (Faujadar) of Tipperay (Tippera) severall other posts in this government he is made independent of our Nawab Gullubullabcaun (Ghalib 'Ali Khan) with whom he has quarrelled & abused and on their mutuall complaints going

[18] *Riyaz,* pp.303-305.

[19] *Ibid.,* p. 305.

to Muxodavad (Makhsusabad i.e. Murshidabad) Saidradgecaun (Syed Radi Khan) has get the better, this man acts here in the most tyrranical manner not only in his own office but also in those appertaining to the Nabobs Governments, whipping and killing whosoever refuse to give him any sums of money he demands and this tyrranny he exercises without control and it is thought here that Gullubullubcaun (Ghalib 'Ali Khan) will be recalled & he made Nabob."[20]

In the above quoted Consultations of the Dacca Council, Syed Radi Khan is a mistake for Murad 'Ali Khan ; Syed Radi, the father of Murad 'Ali Khan was the *Diwan* of Bengal during the period of Murshid Quli Khan and died in 1720.[21] The English confused the name of Murad 'Ali Khan with that of his father ; later, however, they corrected the name.[22] While Ghulam Husain Salim says that Syed Murad 'Ali Khan was appointed the Superintendent of the Nawarah and sent to Dhaka along with Ghalib 'Ali and Jasunat Rai, according to the English records, Murad 'Ali Khan was sent to Dhaka much later, in April, 1737. Here the evidence of the English Council is to be preferred, because their Diary and Consultations are day to day records. On the other hand Ghulam Husain Salim's evidence is contradictory ; in the same passage quoted above, where he says that Murad 'Ali Khan was appointed Superintendent of the Nawarah, he further says that "The control over Fiscal and Home Affairs and the management of Crown-lands, Jagirs, War-vessels (i.e. Nawarah).....were all entrusted to Munshi Jasunat Rai."

But the most important piece of evidence available in the English records, is that Murad 'Ali Khan quarrelled with Ghalib 'Ali Khan and both of them made representations to Sarfaraz Khan and there was an apprehension at Dhaka that Ghalib 'Ali Khan would be recalled and Murad 'Ali Khan would be made Deputy Nazim. Their apprehension came to be true and Ghalib 'Ali Khan was actually recalled in December, 1737.[23] Diwan Jasunat Rai also resigned in disgust ; our records do not help us to say, when exactly Jasunat Rai resigned. In the English records, Jasunat Rai is last mentioned as the *Diwan* on 2nd March, 1738,[24] and in August 1738, Rajballabh is mentioned as the *Diwan*.[25] So Jasunat Rai probably resigned in the early part of 1738. So as per statement of the *Riyad*, the reduction of the price

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[20] *Dacca Factory Records* (hereafter referred to as *D.F.R.*), vol. II, Consultations, 1 August, 1737.

[21] *B.P.C.*, 3 October, 1720 reports his death.

[22] A.Karim : *Dacca the Mughal Capital*, Dacca, 1964, p. 22.

[23] *D.F.R.* vol.II, Consultations, 29 December, 1737.

[24] *Ibid.*, Consultations, 2nd March, 1738.

[25] *Ibid.*, Cash Account of August 1738.

of rice at Dhaka must have taken place in between 1734 and 1738, i.e. when Shuja al-Din Muhammad Khan was the *nazim* of Bengal, and Sarfaraz Khan was the Deputy Nazim of Dhaka.

The second point of contradiction is in the nature in which the price of rice has been mentioned in both the passages. While in the first passage it is stated that rice was being sold at one seer per *damri,* in the second passage, the price is quoted at one seer per *dirham,* and not *damri. Damri* was a copper coin ; one *damri* was one-eighth of a *dam,* also a copper coin and forty *dams* made a rupee.[26] So according to the *Riyad,* in Shaista Khan's time one rupee could buy (40×8)=320 seers or 8 maunds of rice. But *dirham* was quite different. A silver *dinar* was equal to 8 *dirhams* and a silver *dinar* was the approximate equivalent to a rupee.[27] So one *dirham* was equivalent to about two annas and so if one *dirham* could buy one seer of rice, one rupee could buy only 8 seers of rice. Certainly this was not meant by the author of the *Riyad* ; moreover he was giving here the price at Shaista Khan's time, so the price could not be different. It seems, therefore, that the word *dirham* in the second passage, is a copyist's mistake for *damri.*

The cheapness of the price of commodities in Bengal during the Muslim period had been mentioned by all foreign travellers visiting the country during the period, but very few of them have given the actual price of commodities found or sold in the market. Those few who have mentioned the price, have given price of various kinds of food-stuffs, like rice, oil, ghee, wheat etc. but we shall confine our discussions here only on rice which is the subject matter of our discussion.

The Moorish traveller Ibn Battutah is the earliest of the travellers who has stated price of rice and some other commodities including cattle, pigeons and slaves, probably at the market of Sonargaon,[28] about 15 miles to the east of Dhaka. He not only visited the market but actually bought a slave-girl for himself.

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[25] *Ain-i-Akbari,* vol.I, tr. H. Blochmann, p.32.

[27] Yule : *Cathay and the Way Thither,* p.439, Thomas : *Chronicles of the Pathna Kings of Delhi,* p.227 f.n. quoted in N.K. Bhattasali's *Coins and Chronology of Early Independent Sultans of Bengal,* England, 1922, (herafter referred as *Coins and Chronology*), p. 144. One Silver *tankah* of Fakhr-al-Din Mubarak Shah of Sonargaon (1338-1349) is called a *dinar.* See A. Karim : *Catalogue of Coins in the Cabinet of the Chittagong University Museum,* Chittagong, 1979, p. 38, No. 52.

[28] Ibn Battutah visited three towns in Bengal, (a) the place of landing from ship, i.e. Chittagong, (b) Sylhet, from Chittagong he went to Sylhet to meet Shah Jalal and (c) Sonargaon, from Sylhet he came to Sonargaon from where he left for Java on boarding a Chinese Junk.Some scholars say that Ibn Battutah first landed at Satgaon and not at Chittagong, and that he met Shaikh Jalal-al-Din-Tabrizi (actually this name has been mentioned by Ibn Battutah). We need not enter into that controversy here. We have accepted the views of N.K. Bhattasali, (*Coins and Chronology,* pp. 143-154).

The following is what Ibn Battutah says :—

"I have seen rice selling at the markets of this place at the rate of 25 *ratl* of Delhi for a silver *dinar*. As for a *ratl* of Delhi, it is equivalent to 20 *ratls* of Maghrib (Morocco). I have heard the inhabitants of the country say, the price was higher for them (compared to the usual rates). Muhammad al-Masmudi, of Maghrib, a virtuous man who had lived in Bengal before and who died in my house at Delhi, told me, that (while in Bengal) he had a wife and a servant and he had bought provision enough to last for a whole year for the three of them at about 8 *dirhams*. For, he bought paddy (rice with husks) at the rate of 8 dirhams for 80 Delhi *ratls*. When he had husked it, he got 50 in net weight which was ten hundred-weights (Kantars)".[29]

Scholars agree that one Delhi *ratl* was equivalent to a Delhi mann (maund), weighing 28.8 lb. avoirdupois which would be about 14 seers of the present standard of weight in Bengal.[30] On the basis of this calculation, one silver *dinar* or one rupee could buy 8 maunds and 30 seers of rice. Ibn Battutah himself says that this was considered to be a high price by the then people of Bengal. This statement has been supported by his other statement that before his visit to Bengal when he was at Delhi, his countrymen Muhammad al-Masmudi had told him that, while he (Al-Masmudi) was in Bengal, he had bought rice at a lower price. He bought 80 *ratls* of paddy at 8 *dirhams*, which when husked gave him 50 *ratls* of rice. It means that one rupee fetched him about 17 maunds and 20 seers of rice. That is why, Muhammad al-Masmudi had told him that 8 dirhams or one silver rupee was sufficient for buying provisions for three of them for the whole year.

In the *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, Professor N.B. Roy, has made a different calculation. In his caculation, 25 *ratls* of rice was equal to 8 maunds and 30 seers, but its price was seven rupees, his equivalent of *ratls* with the maund has been the same as our calculation, but the price has been different. His argument is doing so is as follows :—[31]

"The current prices noted by the traveller were no doubt based on the weight of the Delhi *ratl*, but as according to the calculations of Yule and Thomas, the Delhi *ratl* (part of a maund) was equivalent in weight to 28.8 lb. avoirdupois, a valuation of the current prices in terms of the present standard of weight may be drawn up, but if this has to be translated in terms of modern money two different tables of prices have to be drawn up, according as gold or silver is accepted as the standard. If the gold is taken

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[29] *Coins and Chronology*, p. 135 ; translation by late Mr. S.N. Bose. Reader in Physics, Dhaka University.

[30] *Ibid*,, p. 144, on the authority of Henry Yule and Edward Thomas.

[31] *History of Bengal*, vol.II, Dacca University reprint 1972, p. 101.

as the standard, one silver dinar of Ibn Battutah would be equal to approximately Rs. 7 of the present time." So, what N.B. Roy has done is to fix the price of Ibn Battutah's time according to the value of money in his (N.B. Roy's) time (the book was first published in 1948) and that caused the difference of prices as calculated by him and by us. What is needed is to fix the price in Ibn Battutah's time. The way in which the value of money is depreciating day by day, makes it extremely difficult to fix the equivalence of old price in terms of the modern value of *taka* (or rupee) in Bengal. If N.B.Roy's method of culculation is to be accepted, as the position obtains now, the calculation should be modified annually, half-yearly, or even quarterly.[32]

> From the above discussion, we may come to the following conclusions : (a). Before Ibn Battutah's time, may be towards the first quarter of the 14th Century[33] the 'price of rice somewhere in Bengal, name of the place is not mentioned, may be in the Capital city of Lakhnauti or gaud, was 17 maunds and 30 seers per rupee. It should, however, be remembered that in this case, actually paddy was bought and not rice. If paddy is bought and husked at home, the price is always a little cheaper. Moreover, there were fine and coarse variety of rice, the coarse variety being cheaper. (b). When Ibn Battutah visited Bengal in about 1346, the price of rice was 8 maunds 30 seers per rupee.

The next reference to the price of rice is available in the accounts of the Dutch traveller Van Linschoten who visited Bengal towards the last decade of the 16th Century. He quotes the price in about 1590 at Satgaon (he writes Chatigan, but from his *itinarary* it seems that he meant Satgaon), and says, ".....a candit of Ryce, which is as much, little more or less as fourteen bushells (of Flemish measure) is sold there for half a gilderne, and for half a dollar."[34] Sebastien Manrique writes about 1630 as follows :-

"Abundant crops of food-stuffs are met with, specially wheat, rice, vegetables..... The rice is far superior to that of Europe, particularly

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[32]N.B. Roy's calculation has confused modern scholars. In a recent Bengali publication (*Bangladesher Arthanaitik Itihas,* by Dr. Abdullah Faruk, Dhaka, 1974), the author accepts the calculation of N.B.Roy in fixing the price quoted by Ibn Battutah but accepts the contemporary price in the case of other foreign travellers. As a result, in the table of price prepared by him (Chapter VI, Appendix, pp.93-96) from 1345 to 1757, the price of rice in the days of Ibn Battutah not only stands highest, but several times more than later period.

[33]Muhammad al-Masmudi, Ibn Battutah's informer died at Ibn Battutah's house in Delhi. Ibn Battutah reached Delhi in 1335 and left in 1342. So Muhammad al-Masmudi died within this period and he had visited Bengal prior to this period.

[34]*The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten,* Hakluyt Society, London, 1884, vol.I, pp.94-95. Linschoten was born in Holland in 1563, sailed for India in 1583, and returned to Holland in 1592. So his statement applies roughly to the years 1584-1591.

the scented variety, which is not only of extraordinary fineness and delicacy of flavour, but even retains its fragrance after it has been cooked, owing to its containing a large quantity of odoriferous constituents. This profusion of food-stuff is, moreover, obtainable at very low prices, as a candil of rice, which is equivalent to fourteen paras, or about fourteen of our salemines, costs only three or almost four rupees, one rupee being equal to half a peso or four Spanish reals."[35]

In the above statements, Linschoten speaks of weight in terms of candit and Manrique in terms of candil. In fact, candit, candil and candi are used by foreign travellers as synonymous terms. The weight of candil varied in different parts of India ; in South India in general a candil was about 500 Ib.;[36] in Masulipaton 25 1b. made a maund and 25 maunds made a candil ; so a candil was equivalent to 625 1b.[37] but in Bengal a candil was equivalent to 1200 1b., i.e. about 15 maunds.[38] One dollar as mentioned by Linschoten was, in the 17th Century equivalent to 2 rupees and $5\frac{15}{16}$ annas, i.e. about 2 rupees 6 annas.[39] So according to Linschoten, rice was sold at the rate of about 15 maunds at one rupee 3 annas or about 12 maunds per rupee. In Manrique's accounts, however, 15 maunds of rice was sold at 3 or 4 rupees, i.e. 5 maunds and 3 maunds 30 seers per rupee respectively. The rate must have varied with the change of harvesting season, as it is the case even to-day. It should also be borne in mind that Manrique gives the price of the finest variety of rice, the scented variety, with which the rich dishes are prepared, the coarser variety must have been still cheaper. On the other hand, Linschoten does not mention the variety of rice of which he has quoted the price.

In Shaista Khan's time, rice was sold at Dhaka at the rate of 8 maunds per rupee as stated in the *Riyad al-Salatin*. Though quite a number of a foreigners visited Bengal during Shaista Khan's time, only one traveller, i.e. John Fryer has mentioned the price of rice, others simply spoke of the abundance of food-stuffs available in the market at a cheap price. According to John Fryer, in 1681, rice was as cheap as more than 7 maunds per rupee,[40] If in 1681, rice was as cheap as more than 7 maunds per rupee,

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[35]*Travels of Sebastien Manrique*, tr. Luard (hereafter referred to as Manrique), vol. I, p. 54.

[36]*Ibid.*, Note 7.

[37]*John Marshall in India*, ed. Shafaat Ahmad Khan, Oxford 1927 (hereafter referred to as John Marshall), p. 419.

[38]Manrique, vol. I, p. 54, note 7.

[39]John Marshall, p. 418.

[40]*A New Account of East India and Persia* by John Fryer, ed. William Crooke, Hakluyt Society, London, 1912, as quoted by Abdullah Faruk in *Bangladesher Arthanaitik Itihas*, Dhaka, 1974, p. 33, Chapter VI, Appendix.

it is possible that rice became still cheaper 7 years later in 1688, when Shaista Khan left Dhaka by closing the Western gate of the city. The price quoted by Ghulam Husain Sailm is, therefore, confirmed by the evidence of John Fryer.

In the first half of the 18th Century, we have some more reference to the price of rice. In about 1708, Captain Alexander Hamilton was told by a person that he had bought rice at Sandwip at the rate of 580 lb. per rupee, i.e. the price was about 7 maunds per rupee.[41] The particular mention of the price at Sandwip, probably means that the price there was lower than other places, particularly Calcutta, where Hamilton mainly stayed. In 1710, the English Company at Calcutta sold their stock of rice, because the people found it difficult to get rice in the market, being scarce ; the Company sold this stock at the rate of 1 maund 10 seers per rupee.[42] In 1729, the price of rice at Murshidabad stood as follows :-[43]

		Maunds.	Seers.
Rice,	Fine, called Bansephool		
	Isr sort per rupee	1	10
	2nd ,, ,, ,,	1	23
	3rd ,, ,, ,,	1	35
Coarse	rice, called Desna per rupee	4	15
	Poorbie ,, ,,	4	25
	Munsurah ,, ,,	5	25
	Kurkashallee ,, ,,	7	20

There is no record at our disposal giving the price of rice at Dhaka from 1734 to 1737, the period of the Deputy Nizamat of Sarfaraz Khan during which time, Ghulam Husain Salim claimed that the price of rice came down to the level of Shaista Khan's time, i.e. 8 maunds per rupee. But we have reliable evidence about the price at Dhaka in 1743. On 22nd May, 1743, the English Company at Dhaka sold 406 maunds 20 seers of rice at rupees 249, i.e. the price was about 1 maund 25 seers per rupee.[44] On 28 May of the same year the Company bought rice at the following rates :[45]

Fine rice	443 maunds 15 seers	@ 9 Pissary per rupee	394—1 —9
Coarse rice	210 ,,	@ 11 ,, ,, ,,	152—11—6
		Total rupees	546—13—3

[41] Alexander Hamilton : *A New Account of the East India, ed.* W. Foster, vol. II, p. 14.

[42] *B.P.C*, 9 July, 1711.

[43] *Sixth Report from the Select Committee,* Appendix 15, Price-list was prepared by Warren Hastings and submitted before the Committee.

[44] *D.F.R*, Vol. II, Consultations, 22 May, 1743.

[45] *Ibid.*, 28 May, 1743.

Pissary is Panch-Seri (or *Pasuri* as is called by the people even now) or 5 seers ; so fine rice was bought at the rate of 1 maund 5 seers and coarse rice at 1 maund 15 seers per rupee.

We summarise below the price of rice at different times, from the 14th to the first half of the 18th centuries :—

	Informer.	date.	place.	Variety	Price per rupee	
					Maund.	Seer.
1.	Muhammad al-Masmudi	early 14th Century	not known, may be Gaud.	—	17	20
2.	Ibn Battutah	1346	Sonargaon	—	8	30
3.	Linschoten	1590	Satgaon	—	12	0
4.	Manrique	1630	Hugli	Finest	5	0
					or	
					3	30
5.	Fryer	1681	—	—	a little more than	
					7	0
6.	Ghulam Husain Salim	1688	Dhaka	—	8	0
7.	Hamilton	1708	Sandwip	—	7	0
8.	English records	1710	Calcutta	—	1	10
9.	Salim Allah	Murshid Quli Khan's time.	Murshidabad	—	4	0
					or	
					5	0
10.	Ghulam Husain Salim	Do	Do	—	5	0
					or	
					6	0
11.	Warren Hestings	1729	Murshidabad	Fine :-		
				Ist sort	1	10
				2nd ,,	1	23
				3rd ,,	1	35
				Coarse :-		
				Desna	4	25
				Poorbie	4	25
				Munsurah	5	25
				Kurkashallee	7	20
12.	Ghulam Husain Salim	1734—1738	Dhaka	—	8	0
13.	English records	1743	Do	—	1	25
14.	,, ,,	1743	Do	Fine	1	5
				Coarse	1	15

The above chart raises several points for consideration. The price of 17 maunds 20 seers per rupee in the early part of the 14th Century seems to be an exaggeration ; after all it is a second hand report, a narration heard by Ibn Battutah from his friend. Second hand evidence cannot have the same credibility as an eye witness account. May be that his friend was telling stories to Ibn Battutah about the fabulous wealth of Bengal. In such circumstances, one cannot but be a little hayperbolic in his assertions. Otherwise, if within a span of, say 15/20 years, the price became double, the country would have been in a famine condition, but Ibn Battutah's testimony is otherwise. He says, "Then we arrived at Bangalah which is a vast country, and abounding in rice. Nowhere in the Universe have I seen a country where the commodities sell cheaper than here. But it is full of mist, and men coming from Khorasan call it *dozakh-i-purnimut,* which (in Arabic) means a hell full of good things."[46] (People of Khorasan called the country *dozakh* or hell because of her climate which is so different from their own country). It is to be admitted, however, that before Ibn Buttutah's visit rice was cheaper than in the time of his visit, because in Ibn Battutah's words, "I have heard the inhabitants of the country say, the price was higher for them (compared to the usual rates)."[47] Then in the last decade of the 16th Century, the price again fell as it was 12 maunds per rupee. It was a period of unrest in the country, when the Bara Bhuiyans of Bengal were fighting cotinuously with the Mughal government. In such conditions of unrest, trade and commerce was bound to be at a stand still and goods from one place could not move to other places easily. Linschoten, probably spoke of a time when there was a good harvest. We should also admit here that the term of the price as mentioned by Linschoten, i.e. dollar, could not probably be equated with rupee properly. The equation has been taken from John Marshall who visited Bengal in the seventies of the 17th Century ; whether the ratio of dollar with rupee varied during about 80 years of interval between Linschoten and John Marshall cannot be stated with any amount of accuracy. However, Manrique's evidence seems to have supported the price quoted by Linschoten. Manrique is full of praise of the fine scented variety of rice found in the market and in the same breath he quotes the price. So it seems that Manrique's price is that of fine rice, rather finest variety, though while quoting the price, he does not specifically mentions it. If the finest variety of rice was sold at 5 maunds or 3 maunds 30 seers per rupee, the coarsest variety could be sold at 12 maunds or even more. The whole tenor of Manrique's evidence leads to this conclusion, as he says, "this profusion of food-stuffs is, moreover,

[46] *Coins and Chronology*, p. 135.

[47] *Ibid.*,

obtainable at very low prices."[48] In Shaista Khan's time the price varied from 7 to 8 maunds as stated by Fryer and Ghulam Husain Salim and in 1708 the price was 7 maunds at Sandwip, as stated by Hamilton. In 1710 the English Company sold their stock at the rate of I maund 10 seers per rupee. These were obviously of the finest variety, because the Company stored rice for the use of their servants at the general table or for export to their settlements elsewhere. Even then the price was higher than that of the time of Manrique. The price of rice in the time of Murshid Quli Khan at Murshidabad as quoted by Salim Allah and Salim must have referred to the ordinary or coarse rice, because their purpose was to show the cheapness of the price. Whatever may be the price at the time, 4/5 maunds as stated by Salim Allah or 5/6 maunds as stated by Salim, it was much higher than that of the time of Shaista Khan. The price of the fine rice at Calcutta in 1719, at Murshidabad in 1729 and at Dhaka in 1743 was the same, suggesting that there was not much variation in the price of fine rice during the first half of the 18th Century ; probably the ordinary rice became cheapest at Dhaka during 1734-1737, i.e. the period of the Deputy *Nizamat* of Sarfaraz Khan.

There was no uniform or standard price of commodity in Bengal. The price varied at different places and the price quoted above refers to the places mentioned. It will be a mistake to try to equate the price at Dhaka with that of Murshidabad or Calcutta or any other place. The main cause of variation was the lack to means for speedy movement of goods from one place to another. In the 17th-18th centuries or for that matter in the whole ancient and medieval periods, the means of communication was not developed ; goods were transported by men on their heads or shoulders, by cart on the land route and by boat on the water route. There was road-hazards ; cases of looting and plunder were vey much present, and marketing facilities were not easily available, if not totally absent. So there were variations of price of rice in different parts of the country, the other part having plenty of production could not come to the aid of the affected area. In 1670-71 there was a severe famine in Patna, where, about one and a half lakh pepole died of starvation. At that time, the maximum price of rice at Patna was 8 rupees per maund.[49] That was the period of the viceroyalty of Shaista Khan in Bengal, when rice was sold at Dhaka at 7/8 maunds per rupee. People in large number fled from Patna and took shelter at Dhaka,[50] but there is no evidence to show that there was any attempt on the part of the Govenment of Bihar to import rice from Dhaka to Patna.

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[48]Manrique, vol. I, p. 54.

[49]John Marshall, p. 152.

[50]*Ibid.*, p. 150.

The price also varied in the same place, according to the quality of rice, and unless the quality or variety is mentioned, one cannot be sure whether the price was higher or low. Of the sources cited above, only that of 1729 quotes the price of some varieties, 3 varieties of fine and 4 varieties of coarse rice. The price in 1743 has been given only for 2 varieties, fine and coarse, but considering the difference of price between the fine and coarse varieties in 1729, the price mentioned in 1743 shows that the coarse variety of rice was not much inferior to those called fine. This point should be borne in mind, when, particularly, the price is quoted in a lumpway, as has been done by Munshi Salim Allah, Ghulam Husain Salim and foreign travellers. One thing is, however, clear from the above discussion ; whether we accept the evidence of Salim Allah or Ghulam Husain Salim, or the English records, there is no doubt that there was an upward tendency in the price of rice during the time of Murshid Quli Khan, which prompted him to make exertions to keep the price low and prohibit the export of rice.

When exactly, did Murshid Quli Khan make regulations regarding price and supply of rice and prohibitions of export ? Salim Allah and Ghulam Husain Salim do not mention any date. In the English records we find that the English Company exported rice to Madras in 1704, 1707, 1709 and 1717, and one private trader exported rice to Persia in 1705, and the reference to prohibition on export is found in 1727. So it is not easy to fix a date for the promulgation of regulations prohibiting export of rice, but we can make a guess on the basis of some information available in the English records. The country was affected by famine during the years 1710-1712. The information is not available in any other source. So it cannot be determined whether the whole of Bengal or which particular part of Bangal was affected by famine. The English records refer to the sufferings of the people and measures taken by the Calcutta Council to mitigate their sufferings in Calcutta only. The first report of scarcity of food-grain is dated August, 1710.[51] The Council met the scarcity by disposing of their stock of rice. In 1711 the severity of famine increased and several thousands of people "famished for want of rice". The Council decided to remit their rents "till such time as grain became cheaper." The Council also distributed 500 maunds of rice amongst the poor people and to make up this loss of the Company, the Calcutta Council sent the ship *Mary Buyor* to Balasore "to bring up her loading of rice, the profit of which, when sold, would countervail the same."[52] In the next year i.e. 1712 also, the supply position of rice did not improve. The Calcutta Council, this time, allowed the dealers in rice to use the

[51] *B.P.C.* 24 August, 1710.
[52] *Ibid.*, 9 July, 1711.

Company's *dastak* or pass, to import *rice only* from whatever place they could. The Company's *bakhshi* was ordered to register all *dastaks* so issued and to see that the receipient of *dastaks* did not misuse them and landed their procured rice in Calcutta. The *Bakhshi* was further ordered to procure rice at reasonable rates from whatever quarters he could.[53] The English records show that famine continued for three years from 1710-1712 and the severity of famine could be felt more in 1711 and 1712. The decision of the Calcutta Council to import rice from Balasore in 1711 and to issue *dastaks* freely to the dealers in 1712 show that the famine affected not only Calcutta and its surroundings, but much more area comprising the districts of south-western Bengal or even more. The Capital city of Murshidabad might also have been affected, and it seems very likely that the sufferings of the people during the famine prompted Murshid Quli Khan to make regulations to ensure steady supply of rice at a cheap price ; for the same reason he had also imposed restriction on the export of rice.

We have seen in the foregoing pages that, even apart from famine, there was an upward tendency of the price of rice in the days of Murshid Quli Khan and after. This was particularly true in the case of finer variety of rice. Higher price means higher standard of living and higher purchasing capacity of the customers. Probably the enormous increase in the export trade of the country and the import of gold and silver into Bengal by the European Companies and private traders to meet the needs of their increased export was responsible for the rise of price of rice and other consumer goods.

The import of gold and silver either in the form of bullion or hard cash was there in the 17th Century also, but it was increased enormously in the early 18th Century. How the English Company alone increased their volume of export from Bengal year to year in the first half of the 18th Century and how much money (in bullion and cash) were imported by them to meet their growing need has been studied by scholars.[54] The Dutch and French Companies were also very much active, and though their trade did not favourably compare with that of the English, they also exported a huge quantity of Bengal goods. The foreign private traders were many, some of the Armenian and Persian and Arabian traders even competed with the foreign companies. There were also up-country merchants and all of them

[53] *Ibid.*, 24 January, 1712. This is an instance of infringement of privilege by the English Company, though they did it with a good purpose, that of mitigating the sufferings of the famine-striken people.

[54] S. Bhattacharyya : *East India Company and the Economy of Bengal.* 1704-1740, 2nd edition, Calcutta, 1969 ; A Karim : *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times,* Dacca, 1963.

brought hard cash into Bengal. It is not possible to have a correct figure of the total export from Bengal in any year during the time of Murshid Quli Khan due to lapses in the records of the European Companies and absence of any record of the private traders. In a previous study I have calculated the volume of export by the English Company in 1726-1727 ; the export recorded in money terms amounted to a little more than rupees 33 lakh.[55] Taking piece-goods of silk and cotton stuffs, the chief item of export from Bengal, the value of which was not rendered to money terms, the total export of the English Company in that year might have exceeded rupees fifty lakh. If one Company exported goods in one year worth that amount, the total volume of export may be imagined. A greater quantity of the amount of export was a surplus balance in Bengal's favour, because the import of the traders and Companies was hardly in demand in the country. But unfortunately, about a crore of rupees went out of Bengal annually as imperial revenues to Delhi. The imperial revenues were also sent in hard cash,[56] and a substantial part of gold and silver earned through export, was eaten up by the imperial revenues. So the economic condition of the country could not imporve, because this cash transfer of revenues had its adverse effects on the economy of the country. Whatever that may be, as a result of the increased export, a class of moneyed people grew in and around the capital city of Murshidabad and the settlements and factories of the European Companies at several places. They were the bankers, *wakils, banians, gomashthas, dalals, paikars, pattandars* and *dadni* merchants. It is these middle man who benefited most from the country's flourishing export trade and they made fortunes. They coupled with the government officers and servants and *zamindars,* were the people who could have surplus cash in their hands.

The export of rice from Bengal also contributed to the rise of price. That is why Murshid Quli Khan issued regulations prohibiting the export of rice. But his prohibition must have been a temporary measures ; in any case, his order of prohibition did not continue after his death. Because in 1738 we again find the government pohibiting the export of rice. A severe cyclonic storm hit the country, on the night following 30th September 1737. The heavy damages in Calcutta and Dhaka are reported in the English records of the Calcutta Council and English Factory at Dhaka.[57] The Calcutta Council reports heavy damages to life and property. As a result of failure of crops that season of 1737, there was an apprehension of famine in 1738 and so, to meet the situation the government of Shuja-al-Din Muhammad

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[55]A. Karim : *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times,* p. 225.

[56]*Ibid.,* p. 220.

[57]*B. P. C.* 24th October, 1737, *D.F.R.* II, 5th October, 17th October, 1737.

Khan imposed prohibition on the export of rice.[58] We have seen earlier that even when Murshid Quli Khan issued regulations imposing ban on export, it is doubtful whether he could make his regulations effective.

Rice is and has always been the staple food of the people of Bengal ; its production, availability and price is also the determining factor in the lot of the people. The abundance of rice available at a cheap price in Bengal in the Muslim period, is often quoted in the press and platform ; it is also found in literary works and history books. The most popular statement in this regard is the one which says that rice was sold at Dhaka at eight maunds per rupee in the days of Shaista Khan. The statement is true, but it is not known to many of our contemporaries that sometimes rice was available in the markets of Bengal at a rate even cheaper than that of the time of Shaista Khan. In the above pages, we have pieced together, the available information about the price of rice at different periods. In the land of plenty, as Bengal was known to the outside world, there were occasional scarcities and sometimes people died of starvation. It is gratifying to observe that the Muslim rulers of Bengal were not indifferent to this problem. Murshid Quli Khan's name should be remembered for his particular attention to keep the supply of rice steady and price low, at least in the capital city of Murshidabad. With this end in view, he also imposed restrictions on the foreign traders on dealing in rice and on export of that staple commodity to the outside world.

[58] *Ibid.*, 5th june, 1738.

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THE COLLAPSE OF THE SALT INDUSTRY OF BENGAL IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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After the East India Company had become a great country power in Bengal, it found that the traditional revenue from land was not enough to run the administration of the country and also to support a big army and the expensive wars. Productive resources must be tapped and Warren Hastings fixed his eyes on salt, a primary necessity of life. The idea of raising a revenue from salt was nothing new. The salt-works had been subject to a modest impost in the Mughal period ; salt was also liable to transit duties on its way upcountry. What was new now was the mode of raising the revenue and the stupendous scale of its operation. Under Hastings' plan of 1780 the salt tracts of Bengal were divided into six Agencies—Hijli, Tamluk, Twenty-Four Parganas, Roymangal, Bhulwa and Chittagong—over each of which was appointed an Agent from the civil service.[1] The quantity of salt required for the annual provisions was determined by the government and distributed among the Agencies according to their productive capacity. The salt-makers received advances from these Agents at the beginning of each season and bound themselves to deliver their salt to them at an agreed price. The quantity of salt to be brought to the market within any one year was notified by public advertisement at the beginning of the year, the government pledging itself not to sell beyond that quantity. The salt was sold at auction to the highest bidders in large lots of 1,000 maunds each in four quarterly, and later twelve monthly instalments.[2]

Thus was established state monopoiy of both manufacture and marketing of one of the primary necessaries of life and it remained substantially in force until the sixties of the 19th century when it was rendered inoperative by the disappearance of the local industry in the face of competition from Cheshire. The salt cost the government eight, twelve or fourteen annas per maund depending on locality and fetched Rs. 4 or more. The difference between the cost of manufacture and the selling price was the tax on salt. The net revenue derived from salt may be taken on an average at Rs. 1,50,60,000[3] which was about ten per cent of the total revenue receipts.

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[1] *Bengal Revenue Consultations*, 19 September 1780. (The unpublished records referred to in this article are those of the India Office Library).

[2] *Home Miscellaneous Series*, Vol. 779, pp. 23-32.

[3] "Bengal As It Is", *'The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, January-June 1845, p. 197.

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The rationale of the tax was debated all through British rule in India. The government defended the tax on the ground of necessity.[4] The opponents of the monopoly, free traders, philanthropists and, later on, politicians assailed it as being odious, inequitable and cruel. We have elsewhere investigated the operation of the monopoly and our findings unfold an unhappy story.[5] The Salt Board's argument was that the supply of monopoly salt was adequate to the wants of the population ; that 12 lbs. was a sufficient annual allowance for an individual ; and that this was also the average annual consumption.[6] John Crawfurd disputed these assumptions and showed that consumption per head could not have been more than 8.74 lbs.[7] The Board also argued that a labourer earning Rs. 3 a month and consuming six seers of salt a year, taxed at one anna and a half per seer, contributed one eighty-second part of his income towards the expenses of the state and this could not be considered burdensome.[8] But the Board overlooked the fact that the labourer had also to pay for his wife's and children's salt and that the retail price of salt ranging from Rs. 6 to 10 or more was unreasonably high. Taking the lowest retail figures and assuming a labourer's wages to be not less than Rs. 3, salt would cost a man with four dependants not less than 1½ months' earnings.[9] No wonder, the poor were driven to use ashes instead of salt.[10] If the consumers did not get enough salt to eat, the salt-workers did not get enough for their labour to live on. A salt-worker earned as little as six annas a month in the Twenty-Four Parganas but an ordinary labourer earned Rs. 3. He received Rs. 5 to 7 for seven

[4]This is how J.W. Kaye explained it : "Where the millions live almost entirely on the produce of their rice-fields, with only a rag about their middle, and a few brass pots for their household goods, there is no very extensive field for the display of financial ingenuity. There are fifty different ways in which the English tax-gatherer may get at the poor man. But in India the approaches to the mud hut of the labourer are few ; and the tax-gatherer must advance by them or keep away altogether". See his *The Administration of the East India Company*, London, 1853, pp. 142-43.

[5]See A. M. Seerajuddin, "The Salt Monopoly of the East India Company's Government in Bengal", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. XXI, Part III, October 1978, pp. 304-322.

[6]*Board of Customs, Salt and Opium Proceedings* (hereafter *Salt Board*), 9 July 1829 and 26 January 1832.

[7]Appendix to the *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1836 : *Supply of Salt for British India*, pp. 185-201.

[8]*Salt Board*, 26 January 1832.

[9]Most writers consider the salt expenses to be still higher. See, for example, W. E. Forster, *How We Tax India*, London, 1858 (IOL Pamphlet No. P/T 2174), p. 11 and J.J.L. Ratton, *A Handbook of Common Salt*, Madras, 1877, p. 261.

[10]Francis Buchanan, *An Account of Purnea in* 1809-10, Patna, 1928, p. 146 ; R. M. Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, London, 1838, Vol. II, p. 700 and Vol. III, pp. 492-93.

months' hard work in the Sundarbans ; a wood-cutter earned there Rs. 4 per month.[11] On account of poor wages and intolerable working conditions salt manufacture in many places could not be carried on without coercion and the Company's officers frankly admitted it.[12]

The judges of the salt districts considered it their moral responsibility to protect the salt-workers from the tyranny of the Salt Department and this often brought them in conflict with the Salt Agents.[13] The authority exercised by the Salt Department over the ryots of the salt tracts was resented by the zamindars. On the establishment of the monopoly the zamindars had been deprived of their rights of manufacturing salt and bringing waste lands, which supplied fuel for the salt-works, under cultivation. More damaging was the inpossible obligation imposed on them by a succession of salt laws, of preventing clandestine manufacture of salt on their estates by the ryots. It would have been difficult to convince a zamindar of Noakhali residing in Calcutta that it was not most unjust to fine him Rs. 500 because one of his ryots had secretly made a few pounds of salt in his kitchen for his family's consumption, and yet this is what Regulation XXIX of 1838 enacted. The British Indian Association urged the government to remove the severities of the salt laws.[14] But the government held that they were necessary for the protection of the revenue.[15]

This was then the story of the operation of the Company's salt monopoly. The Calcutta press freely critised the various aspects of the monopoly and there is on record at least one largely attended meeting held at Calcutta to protest against it.[16] The *Sangbad Pravakar* pointed out that for a ruler to engage in trade, not to speak of monopoly trade, was most unjust and immoral.[17] Petitions were presented by the indians to the Select Committees

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[11] *Bengal Revenue Consultations* (*Salt, Opiumn etc.*), 15 May 1795.

[12] *Bengal Revenue Consultations*, 15 February 1788 ; *Separate Consultations*, 14 September 1821.

[13] This is best illustrated by the many conflicts between Henckell, Judge and Magistrate of Jessore and Ewart, Salt Agent of the Roymangal Agency over the treatment of the salt-workers in the early years of the monopoly. See J. Westland, *A Report on the District of Jessore : Its Antiquities, Its History and Its Commerce*, 2nd ed., Calcutta, 1874, pp. 65-73.

[14] See Appendix S (Nos.1 and 2) of *Report of the Commissioner appointed to inquire into and report upon the Manufacture and Sale of and Tax upon Salt in British India* (hereafter *Plowden's Report*), London, 1856. Also see *Monograph on Common Salt*, prepared by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (hereafter *Monograph*), Calcutta, 1930, pp. 36-37.

[15] *Ibid.*

[16] P. Ray, "History of Taxation of Salt under the Rule of the East India Company" *The Calcutta Review*, April 1930, p. 17, fn.

[17] See the *Sangbad Pravakar* of 1 May 1850 in B. Ghose, *Samaik Patre Banglar Samaj Chitra*, 1840-1905, Vol.I, Calcutta, 1962, p. 75.

of the House of Commons describing the tax as very heavily pressing upon the poor people and Raja Ram Mohan Roy gave evidence before the Committee of the House of Lords against it. The one surprise is that discontent found almost no expression in violence, other than a short riot in Orissa in 1817.

It was not the rigour of the monopoly or the demands of people that led to its abolition. The continuance of the system depended upon the ability of the government to control clandestine manufacture and exclude Madras and foreign salt from the Bengal market. Employment of a host of officials in the coastal regions of the country ensured the prevention of illicit manufacture ; and competition was eliminated by a total ban on imports except on government accounts.[18] Since 1813, however, the monopoly had been attracting a good deal of attention from the British salt manufacturers, shipowners, textile magnates and other traders likely to profit from the Indian trade. They held meetings, passed resolutions, submitted petitions to the Board of Control and the Parliament, gave evidence before the Parliamentary Committees and wrote pamphlets exposing the evils of the monopoly, often in grossly exaggerated terms. Their main points of criticism were that the monopoly, an anachronism in itself, was incompatible with the freedom of trade granted by the Charter Act of 1813 and that by suppressing external competition and undersupplying the market, it forced up the price of the article too high. It is a measure of the influence of this lobby that in two months in 1846 as many as thirteen newspapers including the *Times*, *Sunday Times* and *Manchester Guardian* wrote leading articles condemning the Company's policy[19]. The suggested remedies ranged from total prohibition of salt manufacture in Bengal and its substitution by Cheshire salt to abolition of the monopoly and the reduction of duty. In a reasonably argued paper John Crawfurd, the *guru* of the anti-monopolist lobby, advocated the introduction of a combined system of excise and customs.[20]

The case of the English salt manufacturers was that the abolition of the salt duty in England in 1825 had led to increased production of salt and they needed a market for the disposal of the surplus. They complained that the manufacturers of textiles and of iron and steel had been given

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Ghandi quoted Hindu and Muslim viewpoints to establish that the ruler who taxed water, fire, grass and salt was an oppressor. See *Source Materials for a History of Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. III, Part III, 1929-1931, Bombay, 1969, p. 37.

[18] *Bengal Revenue Consultations*, 15 December 1780.

[19] *The Press upon the Salt Monopoly in India*, 1846 (hereafter *The Press*), London, 1846 (IOL Tracts, Vol. 481), pp. 1-34.

[20] J. Crawfurd, *An Inquiry into Some of the Principal Monopolies of the East India Company*, London, 1830, (IOL Tracts, Vol. 179), pp. 8-77.

unrestricted scope to dispose of their goods in India but they had been unfairly excluded from the benefits of the same market. They showed that the production costs—nine shillings a ton at the works at Northwich—would enable them to undercut Bengal salt, even if the salt was shipped out at full freight and not just as ballast. Common salt landed at Calcutta would cost only 40 shillings per ton as compared to Bengal monopoly salt costing 52 shillings[21]. The quality of the Cheshire salt was also better. The shippng industry's case was that goods, mainly raw materials, imported from India considerably exceeded in bulk the exports of manufactured goods from England ; so that ships for the East sailed either in ballast or with a comparatively small cargo[22]. The shipowners therefore relied on their homeward voyage for their profits. If cargoes of salt could be taken with the certainty of a market, it would not only advance the interest of the shipowners but would also benefit the British public at large by a reduction of homeward freight. The argument of the Company against drawing supplies from England was that it would make India dependant for one of the primary necessaries of life upon a country situated at a distance of four to five months' voyage from India, make the supply uncertain and cut it off altogether in times of war. To say this, the opponents of the monopoly retorted, was "to doubt the continuance of England's supremacy at sea, which is the foundation of her greatness and the guarantee at all times of a safe intercourse with her most distant colonies"[23]. In reply to the Company's argument that it would be next to impossible to find an adequate supply of British tonnage for the transport of 1,65,000 tons of salt, which was the average Bengal production, one writer pointed out that Liverpool never pretended to supply the whole consumption of Bengal[24] ; while another laboured to show that the available shipping was adequate for the purpose.[25]

Wildly optimistic forecasts were also made for improved sales of British textiles in the Indian market. It was estimated that there were in Bengal 46 millions of natives in a state of nudity. Were they relieved of salt taxation, they would apply their gains to the purchase of at least one yeard of British piece-goods per annum, thus creating an extra demand for 46 millions of yards of British cotton goods[26]. Still more tenuous was the argument that the operation of the salt tax hampered the production of sugar. Sugar-

[21]George Wilbraham, *Thoughts on the Salt Monopoly in India*, London, 1847, (IOL Tracts, Vol. 482), pp. 41-42.

[22]*The Press*, pp. 15-16.

[23]George Wilbraham, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

[24]*Ibid.*

[25]D.C. Aylwin, *A Pamphlet on the Salt Trade of India*, London, 1846 (IOL Tracts, Vol. 483), pp. 29-30.

[26]*The Press*, pp. 18.

cane in Bengal, the opponents of the monopoly said, was not cultivated on large estates of rich proprietors, but grown on little patches round their huts by the poor. If one-sixth of the labour of the cultivator, which was now devoted to pay for salt duty, were set free by a reduction of salt duties and employed in the cultivation of sugar-cane, a further supply of 50,000 tons of sugar would be available for export, in addition to the existing annual export of 75,000 tons.[27] An uncharitable critic commented, "If there existed any perceptible connexion between the consumption of salt and the growth of sugar, the necessity for paying the tax on the former would have afforded the ryot an additional inducement to resort to so remunerative an occupation as the cultivation and manufacture of the latter".[28] The Liverpool Mercury summed up the British mercantile view-point thus : "As long as that atrocious duty keeps British salt from the Indian market, the Hindoo is contracted in his operations as a sugar grower,—impeded in his prosperity as an exporter of hides—incapable of improving his lands and fattening his kine—limited in his means of obtaining enough salt for his domestic consumption ; and compelled to expose himself to a burning sun, utterly naked, trusting to the application of vegetable oils alone to preserve his skin from the parching, shrivelling, withering influences of climate ; whilst our looms and spindles, which would fitly clothe him, lie nearly idle ; and our ships, which would bear abundance of the useful condiment, go forth in ballast, or partially laden with other merchandise".[29]

The actual position of the importer did not justify many of the criticisms levelled against the Company. Though when the monopoly was established in 1780 salt imports were prohibited, this ban was lifted in 1813. Thereafter, by Regulation XV of 1817 and the Customs' Act No. XIV of 1836 salt could be imported to Bengal on payment of a duty of Rs. 325 per 100 maunds[30]—not particularly unfavourable a rate. The main discouragement was the danger that the Company might defend its monopoly by throwing large quantities on the market, so ruining importers from Cheshire. The sub-monopoly[31] that was believed to have been fostered by government

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[27] D.C. Aylwin, *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

[28] "The Salt Revenue of Bengal", *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII, January-June 1847, p. 569.

[29] *The Press*, p. 23.

[30] *Plowden's Report*, p. 147.

[31] A few wealthy merchants of Calcutta used to buy up all the salt at the auctions each year and keep down the supply by means of non-clearances of salt from the government warehouses. The existence of the sub-monopoly was recognised by the Salt Board in 1834 and with a view to breaking it up the plan of open sales of salt at fixed prices was introduced in 1836. See *Salt Board*, 19 November 1834 and *Separate Consultations*, 10 February 1836.

was a standing menace to all foreign traders. The bonding regulations were rigid. Lastly, the prejudice amongst the Hindus against salt carried in ships and made by processes with which they were unacquainted had still to be overcome.

The agitation against the monopoly led the House of Commons to appoint a Select Committee to go into the salt supply for Bengal. The Committee, chaired by George Wilbraham, M.P. for the salt constituency of South Cheshire, condemned the monopoly and urged the introduction of a combined system of customs and excise.[32] They held that the same amount of income which had been derived from the monopoly might be collected under this system without any hardship to the comsumer. As interim measures they submitted certain recommendations which would reduce the monopoly of the Company to one of manufacture only, destroy the sub-monopolies and remove the barriers to a fair competition between Bengal and imported salt. First, the system of auction sales should be abolished. Second, the warehouses should be kept open at all times for the sale of salt in quantities of not less than 100 maunds. Third, the price to be paid by the purchaser should be fixed at the cost price to government, added to a fixed duty. Fourth, the imported salt should be subject to the same duty as that sold by the Company and on other charges except a fair and reasonable rent for bonded salt. Last, the duty to be imposed should not exceed the average rate of the net profit of the Company's monopoly for the preceding ten years.[33]

In fact, most of the proposed changes were already in operation. In February 1836 auction sales had been discarded and the government warehouses opened up for the sale of salt at fixed prices and in small quantities.[34] The customs duty of Rs. 325 per 100 maunds fixed by the Customs Act of 1836 was not far from the net profit upon the Bengal salt, and judging from the rapid and enormous increase of imports, that rate favoured the importer ; for the fixed prices of Bengal salt had been assumed on an average of the high auction prices during the ten years preceding the change.[35] So, while foreign salt was admitted on payment of a duty of Rs. 325 per 100 maunds, Bengal-made salt was selling at prices varying from Rs. 469 to 385.[36] It was not until 1847 that the government adjusted the price of Bengal salt ; the interval of ten years being occupied in discussing what

[32] *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons*, 1836 : *Supply of Salt for British India*, pp. 1-2 ; also see *Plowden's Report*, pp. 147-48.

[33] *Ibid.*

[34] *Salt Board*, 31 December 1835 ; *Separate Consultations*, 10 February 1836.

[35] *Plowden's Report*, p. 147.

[36] *Ibid.*

proportion of the expenses incurred by the government in the production of salt was fairly to be considered a charge of manufacture and, therefore, to be included in the cost price of salt ; and what proportion must be held to be incurred for the prevention of smuggling and collection of the revenue and, therefore, to be excluded from the cost price of salt and made a charge on the general revenue of the Department. As a result of adjustment the cost price of Bengal salt was reduced by Rs. 10 per hundred maunds on an average in 1847.[37] After this reduction while the better and common Bengal salt were priced, on an average, at Rs. 95 and 75, English stoved and common salt sold at Rs. 80 and 50.[38] On account of the cheaper price and finer quality of English salt, the rising tide of import could not be contained ; they continued to increase until in 1851-52 they amounted to 56½ per cent of the whole supply.[39] The increased supply of foreign salt compelled the government to contract the Bengal manufacture by abolishing the Twenty-Four Parganas Agency, suspending the manufacture in Chittagong and limiting that in Cuttack to the quantity required for home consumption. This situation, so injurous to home salt, led the Board of Revenue to take a fresh look into its production costs. Their finding was that, though after 1836 agency manufacture was designed to yield no more profit than the fixed duty, it had, in fact, exceeded that figure and made a profit by charging upon the agency salt items basically related not to manufacturing costs but costs incurred in revenue collection and prevention of sumuggling—hence the continuing disadvantage to Bengal as opposed to foreign salt.[40] As the shipowners would prefer importing salt, at however low a freight, to sending a ship in ballast, it was possible, the Board pointed out, that even after the reduction of the cost price of Bengal salt, English salt might continue to compete successfully with it. "It cannot, however, be doubted that every reduction in the cost price of home-made salt will have a tendency to remove the disadvantage under which it now suffers, and at all events the native manufacturers will have no ground, as they now have, for complaining that they are ruined, not by fair competition, but in consequence of being burdened with charges incurred by the Government solely for purposes of revenue, and not properly incidental to the manufacture".[41] Lord Dalhousie frankly admitted the great injustice done to the home-made salt in his *minute* of

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 150.

[38] *Separate Consultations,* 16 June 1847.

[39] *Board of Revenue Proceedings,* 29 June 1852. 24,652 maunds of salt were imported in 1819 ; 2,84,858 maunds in 1855 ; 15,81,986 maunds in 1845-46 and 26,01,033 maunds in 1850-51. In 1851-52 out of the total supply of 51,85,418 maunds 29,26,866 maunds were foreign salt.

[40] *Board of Revenue Proceedings* 29 June 1852.

[41] *Ibid.*

11 September 1852 and declared, "The Government, in my opinion, should be far less ashamed of confessing that it has committed a blunder than of showing reluctance to remedy an injustice, lest it should at the same time be convicted for having previously blundered".[42] Dalhousie's proposal for reduction of the cost price of Bengal salt was accepted by the Court of Directors. But there is nothing in the records to show that the government followed it up. It is doubtful if any reduction, unless it was substantial, would have improved the situation. The fact is that the home-produced salt suffered from so many handicaps arising out of the careless and extravagant management of a giant monopolistic concern that it did not really have any chance of survival against the English salt. The price fixation policy was disastrous ; so was the extravagant business of manufacture. The selection of sites for a large number of agency *aurangs* was injudicious ; these *aurangs*, uneconomical and uncompetitive as they were, would certainly have been abandoned if the manufacture had been left to the process of natural selection. The considerations which led the Salt Department to open these *aurangs* and continue to manufacture salt in them was the fear of illicit manufacture. But prevention of illicit manufacture and collection of the tax necessitated the upkeep of a heavy and expensive special police force. The Department was not manned by able and intelligent officers of the Company's civil service. The principle of selection for the salt Agencies was that "a civilian good for nothing else would still do for a Salt Agent ; and the idea was believed and unfortunately acted on that a monopoly which yielded a million and a half sterling would bear a good deal of wasteful negligence".[43] The Department was notoriously corrupt ; and because of the great opportunities for unlawful gains and minimum chances of detection, junior appointments in the Department were prized too high by the people. The establishment, transportation and other charges incidental to the monopoly control were very high. The salary of the highest paid Salt Agent was Rs. 42,000 ;[44] the other European servants were also very generously paid. While the prime cost of 100 maunds of salt was on an average Rs. 50 in 1819 the other charges amounted to Rs. 30.[45] Twenty-eight years later we find these heavy charges reduced but the proportion of cost and charges was still 2 :1.[46] Thus, it was the high cost of production of Bengal salt arising from the direct interference of government with its manufacture that enabled foreign salt to compete in the Calcutta market. F. J. Halliday, Secretary

[42]Appendix to *Plowden's Report*, p. 710.

[43]"Bengal As It Is", *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, January-June 1845, p. 197.

[44]*Ibid.*

[45]See the annual accounts of 1818-19 in the Bengal *Revenue Consultations* (*Salt and Opium*), 24 September 1819.

[46]*Separate Consultations*, 3 November 1847.

to the Government of India, told the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1853, that under private management the manufacture of Bengal would have completely undersold the imported salt and driven it out of the market.[47] According to a dependable source salt could be manufactured at Rs. 25 by the natives.[48]

It is against the background of high production cost that Bengal salt was left to face competition from Liverpool. In the sixties of the 19th century the closing of the salt trade between England and the southern states of America, the very low freight arising from the American war and a great falling off in the shipment of railway materials to India resulted in the import of Liverpool salt on an unprecedented scale and at very low prices. While the fixed price of monopoly salt was Rs. 83 per hundred maunds Liverpool salt was selling at Rs. 65 to 75.[49] Before this cheaper price of the better quality English salt the prejudice of the Indians completely disappeared. In 1861-62 53,12,865 maunds out of the total sale of 74,28,362 maunds and the following year 63,76,355 maunds out of the total sale of 79, 41,117 maunds were imported salt.[50] The Board of Revenue's change of attitude to this influx of foreign salt was remarkable : "So long as salt is supplied in abundance to the consumer, and the interest of Government in the sales of salt is limited to the realization of the duty imposed at an equal rate on all the salt sold, it is a matter of little or no importance, so far as the Government is concerned, whether the salt consumed is imported or the produce of the agencies ; and as regards the interest of the country, it is obviously an advantage that the people should be supplied with this necessary of life at the lowest possible cost".[51] With these words the Board proceeded to abolish the salt manufacture altogether. As to the people who

[47] See his evidence quoted in the *Monograph*, p. 57. John Crawfurd had earlier pointed out that the article could be supplied much cheaper by the native manufacturers. "I think if the case turned out otherwise, it would be an exception to all experience". See his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1836, quoted in the *Monograph*, p. 27. Lord Dalhousie (see his *minute* of 11 September 1852) and other observers of the salt monopoly shared these views.

[48] "The Salt Revenue of Bengal", *the Calcutta Review*, Vol. VII, January-June 1847. p. 570.

[49] *Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year* 1861-62, Part I (ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 15 May 1863), p. 280.

[50] *The Annals of Indian Administration*, Vol.VIII, Serampore, 1864, p. 301. 73,53,344 maunds were imported in 1863-64 and 65,63,817 maunds in 1864-65. See *Report on the Result of the Administration of the Salt Department during the Years* 1863-65, Calcutta, 1865, App, 4, p.x.

[51] *Report of the Result of the Administration of the Salt Department during the Years* 1860-61, Calcutta, 1862, p. 5.

had derived their livelihood from the manufacture of salt and whom the Company's government professed to have saved from the tyranny of the Indian middlemen, now thrown out of employment, they swelled the rank of landless labourers and were the front-line victims of the famine of 1866. Asked by the Select Committee on East India Finance, 1871, "What became of that population ?" Sir Cecil Beadon, Secretary to the Board of Revenue replied, "I am afraid, a considerable number of them were swept off the face of the earth".[52] To escape similar fate the salt-workers of Chittagong migrated to neighbouring Arakan.[53]

[52]Quoted in the *Monograph*, p. 67.

[53]*Report on the Result of the Administration of the Salt Department during the Year* 1861-62, Calcutta, 1863, p. 7.

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BENGALI PATSHALA EDUCATION IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

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At the beginning of the nineteenth century Bengal had a network of local elementary schools. These schools, known as *patshalas,* imparted secular instruction geared to the needs of the local community. The mode of operation of the *patshalas* was dictated by local convenience and was quite different from that of 'modern' schooling. The purpose of this paper is to present a detailed picture of how *patshalas* functioned in Bengal in the early nineteenth century period. The paper will discuss the nature of instruction given in the *patshalas* ; the background and qualification of the teachers ; and the teaching methods employed to instruct children. The general organizational pattern of the *patshalas* will be examined, relationship of the *patshalas* to caste or community groups will be assessed, regional variations, if any, will be noted, and an overall view of the place of the *patshala* in the village will be drawn.

The source material for constructing a reliable picture of *patshala* education in the early nineteenth century is limited. There is little direct evidence to rely upon except for Dr. Francis Buchanan's survey (1807-1814) and the Reports of William Adam (1835-1838). The Buchanan and Adam reports throw valuable light on the indigenous educational system and constitute the main source for the educational picture of the period.

The Buchanan reports were the outcome of a statistical survey of some districts of Bengal, Bihar, and Assam conducted between 1807 and 1814. The Bengal district surveyed were Dinajpur and Rangpur.[1] Buchanan's report was not concerned with education alone and dealt also with presenting a geographical and historical background of the district as well.[2] Education constituted only a chapter of his report and gives us a general picture of the working of the *patshalas.* However, the information given is insufficient to construct a reliable picture of the state of vernacular education prevailing

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[1] I have been able to examine only the Report on Dinajpur. The Report on Rangpur is missing and unavailable. Even Adam, in his report, mentioned that Buchanan's chapter on the state of education in Rangpur is missing.

[2] W. Francis Buchanan, *A Geographical, Satatistical, and Historical Description of the District, or Zila of Dinajpur in the Province or Soubah of Bengal,* Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, 1833.

in Bengal at the time. Buchanan's report is important mainly because it supplements information given in Adam.

In contrast to Buchanan, Adam's reports were focussed entirely on education and presented a much more detailed and exhaustive survey. As such, it constitutes, by far, the most important source of imformation for building up a picture of education in the period.

Between 1835 and 1838, William Adam, a Scottish missionary, under instructions of Lord William Bentinck conducted a survey of the state of education in Bengal. The purpose of the survey was to determine the actual state of education in the country. The three voluminous reports of Adam provide a valuable and interesting picture of the educational condition of the people of Bengal.[3] Adam's 'First Report' is a compilation from various sources of all that had been previously ascertained on the subject of education in Bengal. The 'Second Report' is a detailed study of the state of education in the Natore sub-division of Rajshahi district. The 'Third Report' presents a view of the state of instruction in the District and City of Murshidabad, in the Districts of Birbhum, Burdwan, and Midnapur in Bengal. Thus, we can see, that the Buchanan and Adam reports cover the Bengal districts of Dinajpur, Rangpur, Rajshahi, Murshidabad, Birbhum, Burdwan, and Midnapur. That is, the reports refer to Northern and Western Bengal only, no such survey being undertaken for Eastern Bengal.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there existed in Bengal a fairly widespread network of village schools providing general elementary instruction. These indigenous institutes, known popularly as *patshalas,* were not confined to any particular area, but were available in all regions of Bengal, though their numbers varied from place to place.[4] It is not possible to state accurately the exact number of *Patshalas* in existence as no such attempt has ever been undertaken. Adam estimated that two out of three villages possessed a *patshala,* and he calculated that since officially there were 150,746 villages in Bengal and Bihar, this meant that there were 100,000 such schools in existence at the time in Bengal and Bihar.[5] Although Adam's estimate of 100,000 indigenous schools cannot be fully substantiated, yet it

[3]Adam submitted his three Reports at different times. The first report was dated 1 July, 1835, the second 23 December, 1835, and the third report 28 April, 1838. See W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838), ed., Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, p. xxiv, hereafter Adam.

[4]Adam's First Report, which is a compilation from various sources of all that had been previously ascertained on the state of education, indicates that *patshalas* were operating in Eastern Bengal as well.

See Adam, pp. 82-92.

[5]*Ibid.*, p. 7.

does indicate that *patshalas* were extensively prevalent throughout the countryside.[6]

Patshalas were not uniformly distributed and their numbers varied from district to district. Table 1 illustrates the point for those districts for which figures are available :

TABLE 1

DISTRIBUTION OF PATSHALAS

District	Population in 1801*	*Patshalas***	Number of persons to a *patshala*
Midnapur	1,500,000	518	2,895.7
Murshidabad	1,020,572	62	16,460.8
Birbhum	700,000	407	1,719.9
Burdwan	1,444,487	629	2,296.4
Dinajpur	3,000,000	119	25,210.0

* The population figures are approximates and given in Adam, pp. 50, 58, 97, 110. The population figures for Burdwan is for the year 1813-14, and for Dinajpur 1808.

** I have taken Bengali schools as implying *Patshalas*.

Source : Compiled from the Reports of Adam and Buchanan.

The table shows the distribution of *Patshalas* to be very unequal. Burdwan recorded the highest number of *patshalas* and Murshidabad the least. But when compared to population, Birbhum emerges as the leading district having more *patshalas* to total population than any other district. Murshidabad and Dinajpur had a much smaller number of *patshalas* than the other districts. The difference in performance between the different districts is very wide. Thus, Birbhum district had one *patshala* for every 1,719 persons, whereas Dinajpur recorded one *patshala* for every 25,210 persons. This can also be taken as indicating that Northern Bengal (as represented by Dinajpur in this instance) had fewer *patshalas* than Western Bengal (all the other districts involved belong to West Bengal). Unfortunately, we do not have any figures

[6]Adam's estimate subsequently sparked a debate between different scholars. Some argued that Adam's contention of 100,000 *Patshalas* in Bengal was a 'myth' lacking in substance while others held that it was substantially correct. For details of the differing views of the debate, see

Philip Hartog, *Some Aspects of Indian Education, Past and Present*, Oxford University Press, 1939.

R.V. Parulekar, *Literacy in India in Pre-British Days*, Aryabhusan Press, Bombay, 1940.

Anathanath Basu, "Literacy in Bengal in Early British Period", *Modern Review*, August, 1939.

for Eastern Bengal districts and hence we cannot draw a picture for the whole of Bengal. What does, however, clearly emerge from the table is that the proportion of existing *patshalas* varied considerably between different districts with some districts being much more well-endowed with *patshalas* than others.

There was no uniformity regarding the size of the *patshalas* either. Enrolment varied from region to region, place to place and locality to locality. Unlike modern educational institutions, *patshalas* were not subjected to any hard and fast student enrolment limitations. These were left to be determined by local factors, e.g., the economic condition of the people, the demand for education, or the ability of the teacher. Thus, Buchanan noted that in the district towns the average number of scholars was much higher than in the countryside.[7] Adam's statistics showed that in Murshidabad the average number of pupils to a *patshala* was 16.1, in Birbhum it was 15.4, and in Burdwan 20.9.[8] These figures conceal considerable local differences. Thus, the same district often contained *patshalas* having an average of 20 or more pupils as well as *patshalas* with less than 12 pupils.[9]

There was also no limitation to the number of *patshalas* that could be set up in any village. The number of *patshalas* to a village varied depending on local consideration. Thus, while one could find villages with no *patshalas,* there were also at the same time many villages having more than one *patshala.*[10] *Patshalas* were generally started on the basis of demand for education and the ability of the people to sustain it and these factors determined the number of *patshalas* to a village.

Patshalas were usually set up in one of the following three ways : a *patshala* could be established through the support of a local wealthy family whose children would form its principal pupils ; a *patshala* could be established through general subscription and support of the local community ; or a *patshala* could be set up by the teacher himself. *patshalas* normally did not have a proper school-house and classes were generally conducted in the house of the teacher, village temple or out-house of one of the parents, the corner of a shop, the portico of a mosque, or even under the shade of a tree.[11] Sometimes, however, attempts would be made to erect a school-house through the combined effort of the teacher, pupils and parents of

[7]Buchanan, p. 80.

[8]Adam, pp. 230, 236, 240.

[9]Buchanan, p. 80.

[10]Lal Behari Day, *Bengal Peasant Life, Folk Tales of Bengal, Recollections of My School Days, ed., Mahadevprasad* Saha, Editions Indian, Calcutta, 1969, *Bengal Peasant Life,* p. 51.

[11]Adam, p. 230.

scholars. In such cases, the expenses would usually be raised by general subscription or donation from the wealthy and the scholars would assist by giving their labour.[12]

The teachers of the *patshalas* were called *gurus*. The hereditary profession of the Kayastha or writer caste was teaching and most *patshala gurus* belonged to this group. Table 2, presents the caste composition of *patshala gurus*.

This table raises some interesting points. It is clear that the *patshalas* were manned by a single teacher. Burdwan shows ten teachers in excess because the figure includes nine missionary schools and one school supported by the Raja of Burdwan which had two teachers each.[13] Most of the *gurus* could be considered to be middle aged as the average age hovered

TABLE 2

CASTE COMPOSITION OF PATSHALA GURUS

District	Total* *patshalas*	Number of teachers	Average of teachers	Brahmins	Kayasthas	Muslims	Others** (low caste Hindus)
Murshidabad	67	67	44.3	14	39	1	13
Birbhum	412	412	39.3	86	256	4	65
Burdwan	629	639	39.05	107	369	9	151

*. The total *Patshala* figures for Murshidabad and Birbhum varies from Table 1. Five Hindi *Patshalas* existed in both these districts, which were not included in previous table but have been shown in this table.

**. There was also 1 Christian teacher in Birbhum and 3 Christian teachers in Burdwan as well.

Source : Compiled from W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838), ed., Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941.

around 40. Averages are very rough indicators and it was not uncommon to find both relatively young and older men engaged in *patshala* teaching.

The caste composition of the teachers show that the Kayasthas constituted the majority of the teachers. It ought to be noted, too, that other castes, both superior and inferior to the Kayasthas were also making inroads into the teaching profession. In fact, many inferior castes like Kalu, Sunri, Dhoba,

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

Malo and Chandal who were generally thought to be excluded from being associated with instruction in letters and learning were serving as teachers. There were some Muslim and Christian teachers too, and we can safely conclude that the *gurus* of the *patshalas* could belong to any caste or religion, although the overwhelming majority were recruited from Kayasthas.

The caste composition of the *gurus* also shows that teaching in the *patshalas* was often hereditary, handed down to the son from the father, who took control of the *patshala* on the father's death or incapacity[14]. Alternatively, *patshalas* could be opened by newcomers as well, from other castes and occupations, possessing the necessary knowledge, and willing to make a living out of teaching.

Gurus did not have to undertake any formal course in teacher-training. Anybody who had studied or passed through a *patshala* course, or had acquired sufficient knowlege of *patshala* subjects privately, could become a *guru*. A successful *guru* would have to demonstrate command over *patshala* subjects to attract pupils or else enrolment could drop. This would be particularly true for areas where more than one *patshala* was operating. In such cases, the better and more efficient teacher would inevitably draw pupils away from the weaker school.

Since there was no public provision for them, the *gurus* were dependent entirely on the scholars for their subsistence[15]. The fees charged varied not only between different places but were determined by a variety of factors. The *patshala* course was divided into several stages (I will be discussing the different stages later on) and the *guru* charged each pupil according to the stage in which he was placed. Also, rich parents were generally charged more than the children of the poor, and sometimes the very poor were taught gratuitously.

The *gurus* received their remuneration in various ways. Some were paid monthly wages by one person ; others received monthly fees in cash from each scholar ; and yet others received partial payment in fees or wages and the remainder in perquisites of various kinds, consisting of uncooked food items (sidha), clothing, and presents during holiday, religious and social festivals[16]. Since perquisites played an important part of the *guru's* payment, it is difficult to ascertain accurately the income of a *guru*. The following table will give a rough idea of the *guru's* income and is based on a calculation of both cash and perquisites earned.

[14]Lal Behari Day, *Bengal Peasant Life*, p. 51.

[15]Buchanan, p. 80.

[16]Adam, p. 229.

TABLE 3

INCOME OF GURU

District	Income per month Rs — As — P
Murshidabad	4 — 12 — 9
Birbhum	4 — 3 — 9
Burdwan	3 — 4 — 3

Source : W.Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 and 1838), ed., Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, p. 250.

Gurus in Murshidabad were relatively better off than those of Birbhum and Burdwan. Generally, *gurus* of town *patshalas* earned much more than those in the villages and Buchanan stated that in the towns of Dinajpur and Malda, the average monthly income of the *gurus* was around Rs 7-8 annas, whereas in country places the average monthly income was only Rs 1-14 annas.[17] From the table, it would appear that the average income of the *guru* was around the Rs. 3-8 annas mark but, as Buchanan has shown, this income could also vary considerably between different *patshalas* of the same district with some *gurus* enjoying incomes nearly four times higher than others.

Adam's computation of the income of other people (performing nearly similar duties on work which the *gurus* could be expected to perform as well) showed that the *Patwari* (who collected the zamindar's rents) got about Rs 2-8 annas to Rs 3 a month ; the village *Amin* (who on behalf of the zamindar settled local disputes and measured their grounds) received Rs. 3-8 annas to Rs 4 a month ; the *Shumarnavis* (who kept accounts of the collection of rents) got about Rs 5 per month ; and the *Khamarnavis* (whose job was to ascertain the state and value of the crops on which the zamindar has claim in kind) received a similar income of around Rs 5 a month.[18] The village *guru* does not appear to have been much disadvantaged when compared to these professions. However, as Adam pointed out, the other professions had the opportunities of making unauthorized gains and they enjoyed a respectability and influence which the *guru* did not have, and hence they were better off than the school-master[19]. Both Adam and Buchanan considered the *gurus* to be poorly rewarded and many, who could not manage

[17]Buchanan, p. 80.

[18]Adam, p. 141.

[19]*Ibid.*

from their teaching income, took to side work engaging sometimes in farming, in money-lending, in weaving, in retail-trade, in temple-work and other services in order to suppliment their income.[20]

The instruction imparted in the *patshalas* was generally of a secular character : reading, writing, arithmetic, letter-writing, a little Sanskrit grammar, versified Puranic tales and *zamindari* and *mahajani* accounts. *Zamindari* or 'agricultural' account taught mainly the calculation of the area of land and the form of revenue accounts for a given quantity of land. *Mahajani* or 'commercial' account taught how to work out the interest of money and how to calculate the value of articles at a given price.[21]

Normally no printed books were used in the *patshalas* and even manuscript text books were unknown to most of these institutes.[22] Pupils were taught mainly through the oral tradition where exercises were dictated by the teacher and learnt by dint of rote memory. Table 4 shows the number of *patshalas* using native written works.

TABLE 4.

PATSHALAS USING WRITTEN WORKS

	Patsalas using written works	*Patshalas* not using written works
Murshidabad	39	28
Birbhum	13	398
Burdwan	426	198

Source : W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838) ed., Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, p. 253.

[20] *Ibid.*, pp. 140, 240.
Also see Buchanan, p. 80.

[21] For detailed discussion of *zamindari/mahajani* accounts, see Adam, pp. 144-145.

[22] Adam., p. 142.
After the formation of Calcutta School Book Society in 1818, some of the Society's books and other books published by the Serampore Baptists were being used in some *patshalas*. Evidence of this is given in Adam, p. 233.

The table shows that of a total of 1102 *patshalas,* 624 were not using written works. A majority of the *patshalas* were being conducted entirely without the help of any written work. The nature of the written works employed varied. There was no uniform set of work to be followed, and the syllabus was at the discretion of the *guru* ; he taught what he knew best. The written works used by the *patshala gurus* were mainly religious and moral or grammatical in nature. Adam provided a list of some of the written works being used in the *Patshalas.* Of these, *Saraswati Bandana* (salutation to the Goddess of Learning), *Ganga Bandana* (worship of Ganges), *Yugadha Bandana* (worship of Goddess Durga), and *Chanakya Slokas* (praises of learning and precepts of morality) clearly dealt with the theme of religion and morality ; *Subda Subanta* (rules of Sanskrit orthography), *Ashta Dhatu* and *Ashta Sabdi* (two Sanskrit treatises, the former on conjugation of roots and the latter on declension of nouns) were grammatical works ; and *Guru Bandana* (composition stressing on the need of respect and devotion from pupil to his teacher) and *Guru Dakshina* (compositions of songs for raising donations for the master) were meant to glorify the position of the *guru* and command total obedience from the pupils. These works were generally used only as texts for language learning and intended to inculcate moral and spiritual values in young minds.[23]

Arithmetic constituted a major subject in the *patshala* curriculum. Pupils were taught in stages to learn the Cowrie Table, the Numeration Table up to 100, the katha Table (a land-measure table), the Ser Table (a dry-measure table), the general rhyming arithmetic rules of Subhankar devoted to practices and modes of calculation based on native methods, and finally addition and subtraction. Multiplication and division were not taught as separate rules but were effected by using addition and subtraction with the aid of a multiplication table which extended to the number 20.[24] It was only after pupils reached this stage that classes were divided into *zamindari* or *mahajani.*

Not all *patshala gurus* were capable of teaching both *zamindari* and *mahajani* accounts. The *gurus* normally taught what they knew best and often there were *patshalas* where either *zamindari* or *mahajani* was being taught. *Zamindari* accounts were generally preferred by children of agriculturists and *mahajani* accounts by money-lenders and shop-keepers. Table 5 shows the extent to which the study of the different accounts was practised.

[23]N. L. Basak, *History of Vernacular Education in Bengal* 1800-1854, Bharati Book Stall, Calcutta, 1974, p. 43.

[24]Adam, p. 144.

TABLE 5

PATSHALAS AND *ZAMINDARI/MAHAJANI* ACCOUNTS

	Zamindari accounts only	*Mahajani* accounts only	Both *Zamindari* and *Mahajani* accounts
Murshidabad	14	7	46
Birbhum	47	36	328
Burdwan	5	2	609

Source : W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838), ed., Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, p. 252.

The table shows that while most preferred to learn both forms of accounting, there was a slightly higher demand for *zamindari* than for *mahajani* accounts. *Zamindari* and *mahajani* accounts were no doubt popular *patshala* subjects being related to the practical needs of the population. Even then, one could also sometimes come across *patshalas* where the *guru* was unable to teach either of the two accounts. Thus, Table 5 figures for Burdwan shows the practice of *zamindari/mahajani* accounts in 616 *patshalas* whereas there were actually 629 *patshalas* in Burdwan (see Table 1). This implies that 13 *patshalas* in Burdwan were not offering instruction in either *zamindari* or *mahajani* accounts.

The *patshalas* also put much stress on letter-writing and pupils were taught the various modes of addressing different persons, composing business letters, petitions, grants, leases, acceptances, and notes of hand. As can be seen, the *patshala* curriculum was extremely practical and geared to the day to-day needs of the society.

As mentioned earlier, the method of instruction in the *patshala* was based largely on oral work. The *patshala course* was organized into four distinct stages according to the different materials used for writing :

(a) in the first stage, pupils spent about eight to ten days tracing vowels and consonants on the ground with a stick ;

(b) the second stage lasted between two and a half to four years and was spent writing on the palm leaf learning to join vowels to consonants, forming compound letters, and learning tables of numeration, money, weight, and measures ;

(c) next, children were promoted to the plantain leaf stage where arithmetic, simple cases of the meansuration of land and commercial and agricultural accounts were taught. This course usually extended from two to three years ;

(d) in the final stage, scholars were allowed to write on paper and were further instructed in agricultural and commercial accounts, in the composition of different types of letters, and taught a little Sanskrit grammar.[25]

The language of instruction used in the *patshalas* was generally Bengali.[26] Scholars often entered the *patshalas* at the early age of five years and the period spent at school usually lasted between six to nine years depending on the ability of the individual pupil.

Since the *patshalas* were staffed by a single teacher, the *guru* had to manage all by himself the pupils in the different stages. There was no distinct classrooms for the different grades and all pupils sat together under the same roof or tree. To assist in teaching efficiently the *gurus* often appointed monitors, locally called '*Sardar Podos*' from among the senior and better pupils. The '*Sardar Podos*' or Head Boys were expected to help in maintaining discipline and instructing junior scholars. An important characteristic of *patshala* teaching was the method of 'chorus recital' where the *Guru* or Head Boy recited a verse or a table from memory and the other pupils repeated the same all together in a thundering voice.[27]

The *patshalas* did not have any fixed class-routine, time-table or school calendar. Pupils could join the *patshala* any time of the year. There was no annual examination date and pupils were promoted to a higher stage whenever the *guru* was satisfied of the scholars' attainments. The use of slates was unknown and no register of attendance was maintained. There were no desks, benches or black-boards and no fixed seating arrangement for scholars. Those pupils who could afford usually brought a small mat or gunny bag to sit on. The *guru* would generally be seated on a wooden tool in the centre of the school giving him a commanding view of all pupils. *Patshala* classes were normally held in two sessions. The morning session commenced from early morning to around ten o'clock, and the afternoon session resumed at three o'clock lasting till sundown. Timing of the *patshala* hours was so fixed to be most convenient for the children to attend. Since many *patshalas* were held in the open air under the shade of a tree, the *patshala* hours ensured that the boys would not be for long exposed to the direct rays of the sun. Again, the recess from 10:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. allowed pupils to go home to take a bath, to have lunch, and to do odd

[25] *Ibid.*, pp. 143-145.
Also, Buchanan, p. 81.

[26] Even in the Bengali speaking districts, there were sometimes a small number of *patshalas* using Hindi or other language to cater to the minority non-Bengali population.

[27] Basak, p. 41.

household chores such as taking lunch to the father working in the fields, looking after cows or feeding chickens. Since the *patshalas* did not have any fixed school calendar, they were completely flexible in operation, opening and closing according to local convenience, e.g. *patshalas* were often closed during harvesting seasons, floods or other natural calamities.[28]

Discipline was strictly enforced in the *patshalas* ; so much so, that the *guru* was often looked upon as an object of terror by the pupils. The bamboo cane or stick was freely used and other severe forms of punishment were also applied to force even the most recalcitrant pupil into total submission. The *guru* was the supreme authority in the *patshala* and no defiance of instruction was tolerated. All *patshala* pupils and their families were well known to the *guru* and each pupil received individual attention. Any pupil intentionally absenting from *patshala* classes for no genuine reason was severely dealt with by the *guru.* In such cases, senior boys (*Sardar Podos*) would be despatched to locate and forcibly bring back the truant who would be accordingly thrashed to ensure no repetition of such behaviour.[29]

Despite the harsh treatment, there generally existed a strong bond between the *guru* and his pupils. Their relationship was in many respects akin to that between a father and son. The Bengalis believed in 'spare the rod and spoil the child' and the *guru's* disciplinary measures were accepted by the community as a necessity for the eventual benefit of the child. The *guru* was a father figure to the pupils and they feared him, obeyed him, respected him, and performed odd jobs for him.[30]

We have seen before that *patshala gurus* were predominantly Kayasthas but people from other caste and religion could become *gurus* as well. Let us now examine the composition of *patshala* pupils and see whether the *patshalas* were closely related to any particular caste or community. (See Table 6).

Although the majority of the teachers were Kayasthas, the pupils were not drawn mainly from that caste. Rather, the Brahmins contributed the single largest group of *patshala* pupils. However, while there were few lower caste teachers,[31] a majority of the *patshala* pupils belonged to this group. Pupils of the very inferior castes like Kalu, Dhoba and Chandal were attending

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[28]For a glimpse of *patshala* life, see :
Lal Behari Dey, *Bengal Peasant Life,* pp. 51-56, 79-83 ;
Recollections of My School Days, pp. 451-458.

[29]For an account of the different forms of punishment used in the *Patshalas,* see :
Lal Behari Day, *Bengal Peasant Life,* p. 82 and *Recollections of My School Days, p.* 454.

[30]*Ibid.*, pp. 82-83 ; 454.

[31]See Appendix A, for full details of caste break up of teachers.

in fairly large numbers.[32] Muslim and Christian pupils too were attending *patshalas* but they formed a minority, the majority being Hindus.

The *patshala* was thus, a very open institution. It was attended not only by the rich but also by the poor ; not only by the upper castes but also by the lower castes ; not only by Hindus but also by Muslims and Christians as well. Again, it ought to be noted here that *patshalas* were not divided on religious or caste lines. Thus *patshalas* were not exclusively Hindu or Muslim, upper caste or lower caste. Muslim teachers generally had both Muslim and Hindu pupils (of all castes) and conversely Hindu teachers had pupils of all religion and castes. Pupils of all castes and religion received the same instruction, sitting in the same school-house, from

TABLE 6

CASTE AND RELIGIOUS COMPOSITION OF *PATSHALA* PUPILS

	Total number of *Patshalas*	Total number of scholars	Brahmins	Kayasthas	Lower Castes	Muslims	Christians
Murshibabad	67	1,080	181	129	688	82	—
Birbhum*	412	6,383	1,853	487	3,785	232	20
Burdwan	629	13,190	3,429	1,846	7,133	769	13

* There were six tribal pupils in Birbhum.

Source : Compiled from W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838), ed,, Anathanath Basu, University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1941, pp. 230-231, 236-237, 240-241.

the same teacher, and took part in the same plays and pastimes.[33] It may be noted as well, that all *patshala* pupils and teachers were male, female education being then not considered at all and generally looked upon with contempt.[34]

Patshalas were extremely practical institutes where children were taught what was then considered to be essential in meeting the practical demands of life. There was no place in the curriculum for history, geography or science. The *patshala* was set up often through the concerted efforts of the community and was an important institution of village life. Its popularity

[32]See Appendix B, for full details of caste break up of pupils.

[33]Adam, p. 251.

[34]Buchanan, p. 81.

is attested to by the fact that it was attended by people of all walks of life. Even when set up through the liberality of any rich family, the *patshala* did not lose its mass character and remained open to all children of the locality. In fact, children of the very poor were often taught free, a point much appreciated by Adam :

> "It gives me great pleasure to mention these instances of unostentatious benevolence [gratuitous instruction] in the humblest ranks of native society. They prove both the merit attached to the communication of knowledge, and the readiness to receive instruction on the part of many who can offer no compensation for it."[35]

Both Adam and Buchanan were critical of the *patshala* curriculum for its narrow content which did not provide for "high intellectual stimulation" and did not include liberal education. Buchanan felt that the result of the overstress on the teaching of accounts would be "to narrow the mind, to confine its attention to sordid gain, and low cunning, than to improve the heart and enlarge the understanding".[36] However, it was realized too, that despite these defects the *patshalas* could be developed into useful seats of popular instruction. As Adam himself pointed out, in spite of their humble character, the *patshalas* were interwoven with the habits and customs of the country for generations past and as such they offered "the simplest, the safest, the most popular and the most economical means" for raising and improving the character of the people.[37]

Adam and Buchanan both reported that in addition to *patshala* education, many children were given domestic instruction. Also, there were many who received domestic instruction only and did not attend *patshala.* This instruction was usually given by the father, uncle or an elder brother and sometimes even the *gomastha,* in his periodical visit for collection of rent, would give a few lessons to one or more of the children of the village. Adam acknowledged the difficulty of stating accurately the total number of children receiving domestic instruction ; but even then he estimated that in the Natore subdivision of Rajshahi district 2,382 children received domestic instruction as compared to 262 children receiving elementary instruction in *patshalas.*[38] This indicates that domestic instruction was nearly ten times more prevalent than formal schooling. Pundits and priests confined the domestic instructions of their children to writing and reading, addition and subtraction, with scarcely any of the applications of numbers to agricultural and commercial affairs while farmers and traders naturally limited their instruc-

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[35]Adam, p. 229.

[36]Buchanan, pp. 81-82.

[37]Adam, p. 349.

[38]*Ibid.*, p. 157.

tions to what they best knew, and what was to them and their children of immediate benefit, the calculations and measurements peculiar to their occupations.[39] The popularity of domestic instruction stemmed mainly from two reasons : first, poverty prevented many children from attending *patshalas* and hence they received domestic instructions, and, secondly, zamindars and high caste Brahmins, conscious of their social position, looked down with disfavour on their children attending *patshalas* with lower class people and therefore hired private tutors to give instructions within the home.[40] Compared to *patshala* instruction, domestic instruction was necessarily more limited and imperfect and hence was not as highly valued by the general people as institutionalized *patshala* instruction.

Pupils successfully completing the *patshala* course were not awarded with any degree or certificate. Pupils attended *patshalas* not with the hope of being able to move on to a higher position, but to come out better equipped to face the life in which they were placed. Their world was limited to their locality and they learnt how to get along best in that society. There were no pretensions, no lofty ideals and no high thinking. *Patshalas* were set up to serve the interests of the community in their own local way and, as such, were institutes of the people, by the people and for the people. They could hardly be called 'schools' as the modern usage of the term implies. They were not set up as schools of learning but rather as institutes for imparting certain skills (practical skills) adapted to local conditions. Perhaps, it is because of the limited content of the *patshala* course, and the very nature of the instructions given, which avoided elevating the pupils' minds, that the *patshalas* generally received strong support from the wealthy sections of the native community. *Patshalas* catered to the needs of all classes without disturbing the balance between the classes and, as such, was tolerated by the dominant sections of the village society.

The surveys of Buchanan and Adam demonstrate clearly that there existed in Bengal about the beginning of the nineteenth century, an extensive system of village schools providing a practical type of elementary education geared to the demands of rural life. The *patshala*, as we have seen, was really a special kind of institute imparting basically secular instruction to all members of the village community, and could hardly be called 'school' as the modern usage of the term implies. The *patshala* was oriented more towards transmission of practical skills than to an encouragement of learning. Unlike 'modern' schools, the *patshala* atmosphere was informal and not subjected to lengthy rules and regulations. Every pupil received individual attention depending on his profi-

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 158.
[40] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

APPENDIX A

DIFFERENT CASTES OF HINDU TEACHERS

District of Murshidabad :

Brahman	– 14	Suvarnabanik	– 1		
Kayastha	– 39	Kshetriya	– 1		
Aguri	– 3	Chhatri	– 1		
Sunri	– 2	Sadgop	– 1		
Kaivarta	– 2	Chandal	– 1		
Vaidya	– 1				

District of Birbhum :

Brahman	– 86	Mayra	– 4	Swarnakar	– 1
Kayastha	– 256	Goala	– 3	Rajput	– 1
Sadgop	– 12	Vaidya	– 2	Napit	– 1
Vaishanava	– 8	Aguri	– 2	Barayi	– 1
Gandhabanik	– 5	Yugi	– 2	Chhatri	– 1
Suvarnabanik	– 5	Tanti	– 2	Dhoba	– 1
Bhatta	– 4	Kalu	– 2	Malo	– 1
Kaivarta	– 4	Sunri	– 2	Chandal	– 1

District of Burdwan :

Brahman	– 107	Gandhabanik	– 6	Bagdhi	– 2	Kamar	– 1
Kayastha	– 369	Kaivarta	– 5	Naga	– 1	Mayra	– 1
Sadgop	– 50	Chandal	– 4	Tanti	– 1	Dhoba	– 1
Aguri	– 30	Kumar	– 3	Daivajna	– 1	Rajput	– 1
Vaishnava	– 13	Napit	– 3	Vaidya	– 1	Kalu	– 1
Teli	– 10	Suvarnabanik	– 2	Yugi	– 1	Sunri	– 1
Bhatta	– 9	Goala	– 2	Barayi	– 1		

Source : W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal,* 1835-1838, ed., Anathanath Basu, Calcutta ; University of Calcutta, 1941, pp. 228, 234, 239.

APPENDIX B

DIFFERENT CASTES OF HINDU PUPILS

District of Murshidabad :

Brahman	–	181	Goala	–	19	Tili	–	6	Khaar	–	2
Kayastha	–	129	Mala	–	16	Aguri	–	5	Jalia	–	2
Kaivarta –	–	96	Napit	–	75	Luniar	–	5	Lahari	–	2
Suvarnabanik	–	62	Vaidya	–	14	Halwaikar	–	4	Bagdhi	–	2
Gandhabanik	–	59	Sutar	–	13	Barayi	–	4	Vaisya	–	1
Tanti	–	56	Osawal	–	12	Mali	–	4	Kalu	–	1
Sunri	–	39	Swarnakar	–	11	Daibajna	–	4	Pashi	–	1
Teli	–	36	Yugi	–	10	Chandal	–	4	Gareri	–	1
Mayra	–	29	Chhatri	–	9	Gaurbanik	–	3	Dhoba	–	1
Kshetriya	–	26	Kamar	–	9	Kandu	–	3	Kairi	–	1
Kurmi	–	24	Kumar	–	8	Kalawar	–	3	Muchi	–	1
Vaishnava	–	24	Rajput	–	7	Kayali	–	3			
Tamli	–	22	Kansyabanik	–	7	Sadgop	–	2			

District of Birbhum :

Brahman	–	1,853	Vaishnava	–	161	Hari	–	13
Goala	–	560	Tamil	–	127	Mal	–	12
Gandhabanik	–	529	Kamar	–	109	Vaishya	–	11
Kayastha	–	487	Kaivaria	–	89	Sankhabanik	–	9
Sadgop	–	290	Napit	–	79	Kansyabanik	–	9
Kalu	–	258	Vaidya	–	71	Bhatta	–	9
Mayra	–	248	Rajput	–	68	Yugi	–	9
Tanti	–	196	Barayi	–	62	Net	–	8
Suvarnabanik	–	184	Bagdhi	–	14	Sarak	–	7
Sunri	–	164	Baiti	–	13	Kurmi	–	7
Lahari	–	5	Tili	–	35	Agradani	–	1
Mal	–	4	Aguri	–	28	Magadha	–	1
Bahila	–	4	Dhoba	–	28	Sanyasi	–	1
Muchi	–	3	Chhatri	–	24	Halwaikar	–	1
Bhumiya	–	2	Punra	–	23	Bauri	–	1
Dhanuk	–	2	Dom	–	23	Dulia	–	1
Swarnakar	–	53	Daivajna	–	17	Jalia	–	1
Kshatriya	–	52	Keot	–	15	Byadha	–	1
Sutar	–	50	Konra	–	2	Chandal	–	1
Kumar	–	43	Ganrar	–	2			
Teli	–	38	Matiya	–	2			

District of Burdwan :

Brahman	–	3,429	Tili	–	200	Kansyabanik	–	34
Kayastha	–	1,846	Napit	–	192	Daivajna	–	33
Sadgop	–	1,254	Vaishnava	–	189	Barayi	–	32
Aguri	–	787	Sunri	–	188	Jaliya	–	28
Gandhabanik	–	606	Kshatriya	–	161	Sankhabanik	–	27
Teli	–	371	Bagdhi	–	138	Mali	–	26
Goala	–	311	Yugi	–	131	Dhoba	–	24
Mayra	–	281	Vaidya	–	125	Rajput	–	21
Kamar	–	262	Sutar	–	108	Baiti	–	16
Suvarnabanik	–	261	Kumar	–	95	Muchi	–	16
Tanti	–	249	Swarnakar	–	81	Bhatta	–	11
Tamil	–	242	Dom	–	61	Hari	–	11
Kaivarta	–	223	Chandal	–	61	Agradani	–	8
Kalu	–	207	Chhatri	–	35	Kurmi	–	8
Tior	–	4	Garar	–	2	Kandu	–	1
Kunyar	–	3	Kahar	–	2	Matiya	–	1
Lahari	–	3	Mal	–	2	Pashi	–	1

Source : W. Adam, *Reports on the State of Education in Bengal* (1835 *and* 1838), ed. A. Basu, Calcutta, University of Calcutta, 1941, pp. 231, 236-237, 241.

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RICE TRADE OF EASTERN BENGAL DURING THE TURN OF THIS CENTURY

SHIREEN H. OSMANY*

In the nineteenth century rice was one of the major items of export from Bengal. Rice was exported either through the port of Chittagong or through the port of Calcutta. The latter port was usually preferred as soon as the South-west monsoon began for the ryots found the route via Sundarbans to Calcutta much safer than the shorter route to Chittagong.[1] Nevertheless towards the middle of the nineteenth century the export of rice was one of the most important items of export from the port of Chittagong being second only to jute. During the fag end of the nineteenth century however the share of rice in the export trade seemed to have steadily declined till in the twentieth century it became one of the items of imports. Many economic and natural factors contributed to this decline.

Rice was grown universally in Bengal though the greatest concentration was found in the active, fertile, deltaic districts of Bakerganj, Faridpur, Noakhali and Chittagong itself, in Dacca and Tippera, and also in Sylhet.[2] Rice was exported to the United Kingdom and many European countries, to the Americas,[3] and, as the Imperial Gazetteer puts it, "to any region to which the Indian or Chinese coolie finds his way."[4] The rice exported to Europe was mainly used in starch or for distilling, while that exported to Asian countries was meant for food consumption.[5]

The foreign trade in rice handled by Chittagong port in the nineteenth century was very considerable, amounting in 1873, according to Customs' records, to some thirty lakh maunds of rice and paddy (rather under 100,000 tons).[6] With the opening of regular river steamer services between Calcutta and Eastern Bengal, a considerable part of this trade was diverted to Calcutta.

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[1] *Report on the River-Borne Traffic of the Lower Province of Bengal and on the Inland Trade of Calcutta and on the Trade of Chittagong and the Orissa ports*, 1889-90, 130.

[2] Agricultural Marketing in India. Report on the Marketing of Rice in India and Burma, 7.

[3] S.A.Latif, *Economic Aspects of the Indian Rice Export Trade*, 28-29, *Saul*, 196 ; *G. Watt*, 841.

[4] *Imperial Gazettee* 1907 *III*, 284-5, See also *G. Watt* 84.

[5] *Latif*, 29 ; *Saul*, 196.

[6] *Report on the Maritime Trade of Eastern Bengal and Assam*. 191-12, 8.

Nevertheless, untill the end of the century rice figured prominently in the export trade of Chittagong, and given that the rice was moved by country boat and that Chittagong port was almost unprovided with modern facilities, the scale of the traffic in the 1880's was really very considerable. For the six years 1883-84 to 1888-89, exports to countries outside India in round figures totalled 34,000, 20,000, 32,000, 14,000, 32,000 and 19,000 tons.[7] In the next decade rice exports declined steadily, however, the low point being 1892-93 when only 9,000 tons or so was shipped abroad.[8] This was attributed by the Collector of Chittagong to the cyclone of 1892 and high prices ruling in the past year in internal markets.[9] But the downward movement of the foreign trade in rice persisted with no more than an occasional comeback as in the exceptional year 1899-1900, when 17,000 tons were exported owing to a good harvest coinciding with the opening of the Assam Bengal Railway.[10] From 1906-07 to 1911-12, however, total export never reached even 3,000 tons a year.

The coastal trade in rice was always more significant than shipments to foreign countries—indeed, rice was the most important single item in Chittagong's coastal traffic. Madras was the division to which shipments were usually made, followed by Bombay, other ports in Bengal and Burma.[11] The amounts involved in the coastal trade varied considerably, depending on the out-turn of particular harvests.[12] Thus, in 1898-99 exports had been about 10,000 tons, while in 1899-1900 they shot up to some 47,000 tons, sent mainly to Ceylon, Madras and Bombay.[13] (This was a bumper year for rice exports to foreign countries, some 17,000 tons being shipped out). On the other hand, in a scarcity year rice was moved internally from one trade block to another and litttle was exported, and in the nearfamine

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[7] *Annual Statement of the See-Borne Trade and Navigation of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with foreign countries and Indian Ports* 1892-93 I 48.

[8] *Sea Borne Beng.* 1892-93, I 48.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] *Sea Borne Trade Beng.* 1899-900, I, 58.

[11] *Sea Borne Trade E.B.A.* 1906-07, II, Table IX, 44.
See also *Sea Borne Trade E.B.A.* 1911-12.

[12] The rounded figures for the years 1892-93 to 1899-1900 are as follows :

1892-93	:	10,000 tons
1893-94	:	3,000
1894-95	:	25,000
1895-96	:	19,000
1896-97	:	15,000
1897-98	:	3,000
1898-99	:	10,000
1899-1900	:	47,000

[13] *Sea Borne Trade, Beng.* 1899-1900,1,58.

years of 1896-97,[14] 1897-98,[15] 1905-06 and 1906-07,[16] rice was largely imported from Burma. Thus the Port Commissioners noted in their 1906-07 Report "The main feature of the coasting trade was the large importation of rice from Burma, which rose in value from 15.15 lakhs of rupees in 1905-06 to 246.40 lakhs of rupees in 1906-07. This was an account of the scarcity in Eastern Bengal and Assam from the shortness of the crops there during the last two years. Usually rice is exported from Chittagong in considerable quantities".[17]

In the first twelve years of the twentieth century, if the scarcity years are to some extent discounted, the overall trend in the coastal trade seems to have been downwards.

There have been various explanations for the overall decline in the coasting and export trade in rice handled by Chittagong port. The coming of the Assam Bengal Railway, improved access to rice growing areas in Sylhet, Tippera and Noakhali may at times have helped move stocks down to Chittagong, but it also made it easier to move rice from the northern hinterland districts of the port up into Assam, just as the growth of steamer services made it possible to divert stocks to Calcutta or the western districts. And the railway, of course, provided no link with the towns of Bakerganj and Rajshahi lying west of the river Meghna. The almost total failure of Chittagong to attract rice from these districts is vividly demonstrated in the statistics of the rice trade for 1910-11. In that year 2,000,000 maunds of rice went from Bakerganj to Bengal.[18] 2,000 maunds to Chittagong,[19] and 1,000,000 maunds went from Rajshahi to Bengal,[20] and nothing to Chittagong.[21] Over ninety-eight per cent of all the rice brought into Chittagong block by rail or water, husked or unhusked came from Tippera block.[22]

A more positive factor at work to produce the delcline in rice export was often thought to be the growing popularity of jute among East Bengal cultivators. From the end of the Nineteenth century, as jute became increasingly rewarding economically to farmers, they put more and more land

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[14] *River Borne Traffic* 1896-97, 57.

[15] *River Borne Traffic* 1897-98, 68.

[16] *Maritime Trade E.B.A.*1906-07, 2.

[17] *Administrative Report of the Commissioners for the port of Chittagong* 1906-07, 7 June 1907.

[18] *Report on the Trade carried by Rail and River in the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Trade by R.R. E.B.A.* 1910-11, Table II, 24. See also E.B.A. *Proce.* (*Leg*) 1911, 4.

[19] *Ibid., Table VI,* 98-101.

[20] *Trade by R.R.E.B.A.* 1901-11, *Table* II, 24.

[21] Ibid,, Table VII, 98-101.

[22] *Ibid., Table* V, 72.

under jute. The result, so the Annual Statement of Sea Borne Trade and Navigation for 1892-3 argued, was that "a large amount of cultivation, which had formerly been devoted to rice, had been devoted to jute".[23] Fears were expressed that Bengal's self-sufficiency in food was being endangered. A leader in the Hitavadi in 1892 made this point : "The extensive scale on which jute cultivation is carried on in East Bengal is doing a good deal of injury to the country. It is true that the cultivators have now more money in their hands than they ever possessed before, but properly considered, their condition has at present become worse than when they devoted themselves to the cultivation of paddy.....Jute cultivation is responsible for the fact that the cultivators instead of growing paddy even for home consumption, grow jute and purchase paddy ; and this leads to the scarcity of rice in the country.....Jute is enriching foreigners at the expense of the Indians".[24] It has been vigorously argued since then that the allegation that rice land was being taken up for jute were not true, not in the way the *Hitavadi* presumed. N. C. Chowdhury has argued that though jute certainly was very popular with cultivators because of the high prices which it fetched, and the cultivation of jute in Bengal and Assam did expand rapidly, the total area under jute nevertheless did not come to exceed more than 6 per cent of the total cultivated area in the two provinces of Bengal and Assam. On the other hand, "the area under rice, which [was] between 60 and 65 per cent [of the cultivated area] does not appear to have been reduced to any extent".[25] What can properly be inferred then seems to be that while the area under rice was not reduced, it was also not increasing to any significant degree. (Yield per acre was not improving either in the period here under consideration.)

RICE IN BENGAL : ACREAGE AND YIELD[26]

	1891-92	1894-95	1897-98	1900-01	1903-04	1906-07
Acres	39,552,008	38,639,500	39,549,500	36,013,900	34,931,500	40,612,000
Yield	284,804,161	416,857,200	398,142,000	311,508,600	316,669,700	317,938,200

However, figures of output and demand for rice in India show that the quantity grown in India was not sufficient to meet the demand for

[23] *Sea Borne Trade Bengal* 1892-93, 108.

[24] Jute Cultivation in East Bengal, Hitavadi, 15 September 1892, (*a Calcutta weekly*), *B.N.N.R.R.*, 1892, 956.

[25] N.C. Choudhury, *Jute in Bengal*, 1-2; see also N.C. Choudhury, *Jute and Substitutes*, 4.

[26] N.C. Choudhury, *Jute in Bengal*, 193.

consumption inside India itself—as for example, in the period 1911-15 when the average output was 28.38 million tons[27] and the estimated consumption 33.51 million tons.[28] Moreover, in this period while the Indian population as a whole was growing quite slowly, that of East Bengal and Assam increased by 8·5 per cent in the decade 1891-1901,[29] and by 11.5 per cent between 1901 and 1911,[30] a significant element in that increase being provided by immigration of labour to the plantations and more locally to railway construction sites. The surplus available for export was thus steadily being eaten by rising home consumption. It must be noted too that East Bengal could not, or did not, aim at the quality market. There were no modern rice mills in the hinterland of Chittagong,[31] the prepared rice which was exported had been hand pounded and was certainly no match for the milled rice from Burma, for example. This the Commissioner of Chittagong frankly acknowledged : "Husked rice is brought for sale, but the husking is not well done in the villages, this rice therefore does not command the position in the European market which it might, and is disposed of in Indian ports or sent to Mauritius".[32]

The falling off of rice exports, caused by the erosion of the exportable surplus, if it limited the trade in Chittagong in normal years did mean business for the part in years of poor harvest when it handled imports of Burma rice. There was always some movement of superior grades of rice from India to the outside world and some movement of cheaper and inferior rice from Burma.[33] But besides this regular importation, Burma supplied India with rice whenever there was famine or serious short-fall in the Indian rice crop. Burma thus became a reserve granary from which any large and unexpected demand in India could at once be supplied,[34] while Eastern Bengal, which was substantially surplus in rice gradually became more and more dependent on the outside world for its supply of rice.

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[27] *Latif*, 13.

[28] *Ibid.*, 10.

[29] *Census of India* 1901, II, 10.

[30] *Statement Exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India, P. P. Accounts and Papers.* 1912-13, *CIII*, 277, 581.

[31] *N. Ahmad*, 220.

[32] Commissioner Chittagong Div. to Govt. of Bengal, 11 Feb. 1882, Beng. Proc. P.W.D. (Rly) 1882, April-May, April 14. The first power-driven mill was built in Rangoon in 1861. By 1881, there were 48 mills in Burma. Cheng Siok-Hwa, *The Rice Industry of Burma* 1852-1940, 315.

[33] Latif, 32. See also Siok-Hwa, *The Rice Industry of Burma* 1852-1940, 315.

[34] *Ibid.*, 211. See also *G. Watt*, 841.

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STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF PRESENT PRACTICES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION FOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN DHAKA METROPOLITAN AREA*

SALINA BANU*

Introduction

In recent years, especially after the independence, Dhaka became the capital of Bangladesh and accordingly gained the importance of capital city. The population of Dhaka is increasing rapidly and according to recent census it is about 34 lac. People here are seeking better institutions for better livelihood, such as job, shelter, education etc. With the passage of time the city is experiencing some basic problems, which are to be solved. Among these problems schooling of children is perhaps an urgent and important one.

At present there are some 149 secondary schools in Dhaka city. Out of 2 lac secondary school-age children in the Dhaka city, the enrolment in the secondary schools is about 1.15 lac. The eighty five thousand out-of-school students either do not get chance to be enrolled or droppedout before coming to the secondary level.

In fact out of 149 secondary schools, except very few, most of the schools of the city are not equipped with proper manpower (both untrained and trained teachers), physical facilities (school house, tables, chairs, benches), and teaching-learning materials (chalkboard, audio-visual aids, apparatus for science teaching). But the few exceptions, which have a good reputation, have enough facilities and appear to be healthy institutions to parents for better schooling of their children. Again these reputed schools are not evenly distributed throughout the city. Therefore, these schools are overcrowded with students from wider range of the city.

Due to shortage of standard schools and lack of equal facilities in all schools very few of our children have the chance of getting quality education. The present system of schooling and existing educational administration have proved their inability to provide solution to this burning problem. They have failed to bring uniformity in terms of standard, facilities and opportunities for all the secondary schools in the Dhaka city.

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* This paper is a part of the author's M.Sc. Thesis, "A Proposal for An Integrated Metropolitan Secondary Education Authority for Dhaka Metropolitan Area".

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To solve the above problems in school education in Dhaka metropolitan area, it is essential to modernize administrative machinery involved, because, there is a direct link between administration in education and the improvement in any education system. An efficient administration in education, perhaps, will be able to solve the above problems in school education of Dhaka metropolitan area. For a better, efficient and simple administration in Dhaka metropolitan area all the agencies devoted for educational administration in Dhaka metropolitan area may be integrated and an integrated educational authority for Dhaka metropolitan area may be established.

In order to find out the need for such an integrated educational authority the present practices and procedures in educational administration are to be studied critically and based on the findings necessary recommendations should be made.

In the present study efforts have, therefore, been made to study critically the strengths and weaknesses of the peresent system of educational administration in the Dhaka metropolitan area for school education.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the Study were :

1. to analyse and evaluate present educational administration system for secondary education of Dhaka metropolitan area in terms of its strengths and weaknesses, and
2. to identify and analyse the necessity of an Integrated Metropolitan Educational Authority for Secondary Education for the Dhaka metropolitan area.

Methodology of the Study

The method of investigation involves opinion survey of experts in the field, namely educationists, educators, teachers, educational administrators and educational planners through a questionnaire and interview schedule. On the basis of the indepth study of the relevant documents and interview of five experts a questionnaire was developed. The questionnaire was again reviewed and modified according to suggestions given by ten experts in the field and then the final questionnaire was prepared.

The final form of the questionnaire was distributed to 60 experts but it was finally returned by 45. Among the 45 respondents 25 were educators, educationists and teachers and the rest 20 were educational administrators and educational planners. The respondents who returned the questionnaire did not respond to all questions of the questionnaire.

Results and their interpretation

The collected data were analysed both qualitatively and quantitatively. The quantitative analysis included (a) Numerical presentation and (b) Statistical presentation. The percentage of responses of different personnels on different items of the questionnaire were found out and rank difference correlation were calculated in order to find out the relationship between responses of the two groups of respondents. The results of the study are presented in the following tables.

TABLE 1

Data Regarding Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present System of Educational Administration for Secondary Education (Responses of Educators, Educationists and Teachers, N=25).

Question Number	Subject-matter of statements	Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1.	Able to produce :				
	a. Skilled and dutiful manpower	3	12	22	88
	b. students for higher education	12	48	12	48
	c. Balanced personality	–	–	22	88
2.	Able to bring uniformity in standards of all schools	–	–	25	100
3.	D.P.I. office has control over student enrolment in the D.M.A. schools	4	16	19	76
4.	Able to control facility-wise enrolment	4	16	21	84
5.	Able to provide adequate enrolment in schools while facility is available	4	16	20	80
6.	Overall supervision of secondary schools by the D.P.I. office is possible	4	20	19	76
7.	Inspection system satisfactory	–	–	20	100
8.	Facilitated to improve management and supervision of schools	1	4	24	96

Question Number	Subject-matter of statements	Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
9.	Supervision over academic activities satisfactory in terms of				
	a. prescription of additional textbooks	–	–	25	100
	b. fees of the student	4	16	20	80
	c. Testing and evaluation	5	20	20	80
	d. Vacation	14	56	9	36
10.	Able to improve through planning and implementation educational situation like				
	a. number of schools	18	72	4	16
	b. optimizing location factor	16	64	4	16
11.	Able to improve internal administration of schools	5	20	20	80
12.	Lead to instructional effectiveness	–	–	24	96
13.	Lead to inspectoral efficiency	4	16	20	80
14.	The functions of different agencies in the system are clearly defined	10	40	15	60
15.	There is coordination between different agencies in the system	4	16	20	80
16.	There is facility for inservice training of teachers	11	44	14	56

Data presented in Table 1 reveal that the present practices in Educational Administration for secondary schools in Dhaka Metropolitan Area (D.M.A.) has a lot of weaknesses. Sixteen items were set to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the present system. These statements were positive statement in question form with two alternative responses 'Yes' and 'No' for the respondents. Except three statements, for all statements majority of the respondents responded 'No' which clearly indicate the weaknesses of the present system. 48 per cent of the respondents thought that the present system is successful in achieving one of the desired goals for our school education, i.e., it prepares students for higher education. The majority of the respondents (72 per cent and 64 per cent respectively) opined that the present set-up in school administration through educational planning and its implementation is able to improve educational situation like number of schools and optimizing location factor.

Forty per cent respondents believed that the functions of different agencies under the present system such as D.P.I. office, Secondary Education

Board, Municipal Corporation, are clearly defined and 44 per cent thought that in the present system there is facility for inservice training of the teacher. The educationists, educators and teachers thought that the present system in school administration of the D.M.A. is not successful in achieving most of the desired goals of education ; it is unable to improve the academic standard of all the schools in the D.M.A. and bring uniformity in such standard ; it has no control over admission test, students enrolment, interal administration, fees of the student, prescribing additional textbooks by the school authority, and testing and evaluation. The present system is unsuccessful in leading to instructional and inspectoral efficiency. It is not possible for the D.P.I. office to conduct overall supervision of all schools in the D.M.A. and it does not facilitate the improvement of management and supervision of schools in D.M.A. On the whole, according to the educators and educationists and teachers, the present system has lot of weaknesses and it is unsuccessful in achieving the desirable standard of education. Responses of the educational administrators and educational planners, regarding strengths and weaknesses of the present system of educational administration for secondary schools are tabulated in the following pages.

TABLE 2

Data Regarding Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present System of Educational Administration for Secondary Education (Responses of Educational Administrators and Educational Planners, N=20).

Question Number	Subject-matter of statements	Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
1.	Able to produce				
	a. Skilled and dutiful manpower	–	–	20	100
	b. students for higher education	12	60	8	40
	c. balanced personality	–	–	20	100
2.	Able to bring uniformity in standards of all schools	–	–	20	100
3.	D.P.I. Office has control over student enrolment in the D.M.A. schools	–	–	20	100
4.	Able to control facility-wise enrolment	–	–	19	96
5.	Able to provide academic enrolment in schools while facility is available	–	–	19	96
6.	Overall supervision of secondary school by the D.P.I. office is possible	–	–	19	96

Question Number	Subject-matter of statement	Yes		No	
		Frequency	%	Frequency	%
7.	Inspection system satisfactory	–	–	20	100
8.	Facilitated to improve management and supervision of schools	–	—	18	90
9.	Supervision over academic activities satistactory in terms of				
	a. Prescription of additional text-books	–	–	20	100
	b. Fees of the student	–	–	18	90
	c. Testing and evaluation	–	–	20	100
	d. Vacation	4	20	16	80
10.	Able to improve through planning and implementation educational situation like				
	a. number of schools	4	20	16	80
	b. optimize location factor	4	20	16	80
11.	Able to improve internal administration of schools	–	–	20	100
12.	Lead to instructional effectiveness	–	–	20	100
13.	Lead to inspectoral efficiency	–	–	17	85
14.	The functions of different agencies in the system are clearly defined	5	25	13	65
15.	There is coordination between different agencies in the system	4	20	14	70
16.	There is facility for inservice training of teachers	–	–	18	90

Data presented in Table 2 indicate that, except for item 16, i.e. the present system prepared students for higher education, majority of the respondents in the categories of educational administrators and educational planners responded, 'No' for all the items which clearly reveals that the present administrative system for school education in the Dhaka Metropolitan area has a great weakness and its strengths are insignificant. Cent per cent of the respondents thought that the present system is unable to produce skilled and dutiful manpower, balanced personality, and improve internal administration of school, bring uniformity in standards of all schools, and it has no control over student enrolment. All the respondents hold the view that the present system has unsatisfactory inspection system, it has no control over prescription of additional textbooks and testing and evaluation and it does not lead to instructional effectiveness. More than 80 per cent of the

respondents opined that overall supervision by the present system is not possible and it does not facilitate to improve management and supervision of schools, and the system, through planning and implementation, is unable to improve educational situation like number of schools and optimizing local factor. 95 per cent respondents thought it does not lead to inspectoral efficiency and 65 per cent and 70 per cent and 90 per cent respondents respectively believe that the functions of different agencies in the system are not clearly defined, there is no coordination between different agencies in the system and there is no facility for inservice training for the teachers in the present system.

TABLE 3

Relationship between the 'Yes' Responses of the Two Categories of Respondents Regarding Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present System of Educational Administration.

Item	A*	B**	P (rho)
1a	12	0	
1b	48	60	
1c	0	0	
2	0	0	
3	16	0	
4	16	0	
5	16	0	
6	20	0	
7	0	0	
8	4	0	
9a	0	0	
9b	16	0	
9c	20	0	
9d	56	20	0.712
10a	72	20	
10b	64	20	
11	20	0	
12	0	0	
13	16	0	
14	40	25	
15	16	20	
16	44	0	

A*=educators, educationists, and teachers,

B**=educational administrators and educational planners.

TABLE 4

Relationship between the 'No. Responses of the Two Categories of Respondents Regarding Strengths and Weaknesses of the Present System of Educational Administration

Item	A*	B**	P (rho)
1a	88	100	
1b	48	40	
1c	88	100	
2	100	100	
3	76	100	
4	84	96	
5	80	96	
6	76	96	
7	100	100	0.709
8	96	90	
9a	100	100	
9b	80	90	
9c	80	100	
9d	36	80	
10a	16	80	
10b	16	80	
11	80	100	
12	96	100	
13	80	85	
14	60	65	
15	80	70	
16	56	90	

A*=educators, educationists, and teachers

B**=educational administrators and educational planners.

The value of rho for 'Yes' and 'No' responses of the two categories of respondents is 0.712 (Table 3) and 0.709 (Table 4) respectively. Both the values of rho are significant at 0 05 level of significance which means there is significant relationship between the opinions of the two categories of respondents.

Discussion :

It is evident from data presented in Tables I and 2 that respondents, without hesitation, opined that the present system of educational administration for schools has a lot of weaknesses and it is unsuccessful to do any good to school education in the Dhaka metropolitan area. Some of the teachers,

educators and educationists hesitated to respond to some of the questions and left them as 'no comment' instead of giving "Yes" or "No" as possible responses. This no comment is very rare in case of the educational administrators and planners. They have responded either 'Yes' or 'No'. This may be due to the fact that the administrators and the planners are more directly involved in different actitivities of the system and they have sufficient knowledge about the functioning of the system, and the educators, educationists and teachers lack sufficient knowledge about the present system. But from the value of correlation coefficient (table 3 and 4) it is found that there is significant relationship between the opinions of the two categories of respondents.

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1. Bangladesh Bureau of Educational Information and Statistics, *Educational Statistics*. Ministry of Education, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Dec, 1979.
2. Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, *The Second Five Year Plan* (1980-85), Dhaka, Government Press, May, 1980.

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THE SITANA CAMPAIGN OF 1863-1864 AND THE PROBLEM OF CENTRAL CONTROL.

JAMALARA RAHMAN*

Elgin[1] newly arrived in India sanctioned in March 1862 a Jaintia campaign on the north-east frontier of India which had already begun. Thereafter he was no more than an increasingly critical observer of its management by the Bengal Government. He was well established in his governor-generalship, however, when in the autumn of 1862 the Punjab Government urged upon him the necessity for a military attack upon Sitana.[2] in the Hazara district of the north-west frontier. He quite frankly refused the Punjab's Government request. But a year later, in 1863 Elgin and his council reversed their earlier stand. Here an. attempt is made to study how and under what pressure the campaign was sanctioned by the Government of India.

Upon the annexation of the Punjab in 1849 the Government of India inherited from the Sikhs the problem of establishing an effective civil administration in the settled plains districts of the north-west frontier and of securing these from the raids of the tribes of the bordering hills. The policy adopted until the 1870's was known as the 'close border' policy—guarding the frontier by police and military outposts linked by lateral roads so as to prevent raids and so avoid the need for retaliatory punitive expeditions such as the Sikhs had employed. To support these posts a special body, the Punjab Frontier Force, was recruited from Sikhs, Pathans, Gurkhas and Punjabi Muslims, and placed under the Punjab Government, which was also empowered to create local police or militia forces—of which the most famous was the Guides—from among the hill tribes themselves.[3] These were

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Abbreviations used :

E.P.=Elgin Papers ; W.P.=Wood Papers ; R.P.=Rose Papers ; B.P.= Bruce Papers, I.F.P.=India Foreign Proceedings ; I.M.P.=India Military Proceedings : I.M.D.=India Military Despatches ; D.N.B.=Dictionary of National Biography.

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[1]Elgin took up office as Governor-General of India on 12 March, 1862.

[2]The campaign was to punish the tribes on the British frontier for sheltering the 'Hindostani fanatics' or 'Wahabis'.

[3]The Imperial Gazetteer, N.W.F.P. pp. 69-71 ; C.C. Davies, *The Problem of the North West Frontier*, Cambridge, (Cam. Univ. Press), 1932. pp. 22-24.

all independent of and in addition to the rgular army a garrison at Peshawar and other stations. Subsidies and allowances were paid to the hill tiribes and chiefs and the trans-border tribes were allowed to cross into British territory and to trade freely. On the other hand it was British policy not to enter into tribal territory and not to interfere in tribal affairs. Where the peace was broken, the policy was to exert pressure by stopping trade and blockading tribal territory, or by levying fines and only thereafter to undertake armed intervention.[4] Nevertheless, there were some sixty-two expeditions at one point or another along the frontier between 1849 and 1899.[5] The Sitana campaign[6] may thus be seen as merely one of many occasions when border control broke down and military sanctions had to be applied.

The basis for the 1862 campaign proposals was the long and able report by Robert Adams, Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, written on 28 July 1862. He began with a sketch of Hazara's geography and history. He showed that the Uthmanzais were a weak tribe, dominated by their neighbours, but nevertheless co-operative in Brigadier Cotton's harrying of the Saiyeds in 1858. He showed that another tribe, the Judoons had also been quiet and orderly, never in any tangible way showing goodwill to the Saiyeds, and passive during Cotton's operations ; but they showed themselves defensively hostile. He made it clear, however, that, despite "the absence of any previous cause of quarrel" Cotton would have attacked them, but for the lateness of the season. As it was, both tribes were compelled to enter into agreements to excluding the Saiyeds and 'Wahabis' and to prevent the movement of dacoits.

Between 1858 and 1861 Adams could report two kidnappings and the establishment of a post at Siri by Syed Mubarak Shah, within the Sitana bounds, where blackmail was levied from traders. (what Adams called blackmail, all of it exacted within Judoon territory, was doubtless seen by Mubarak Shah, who was locally acknowledged as Shahzada and claimant of Swat, as tribute or custom duties). For this offence both tribes were blockaded and compelled to enter into fresh engagements in October 1861.

Between that date and May 1862 six more crimes were committed, three of them by dacoits coming through the territory of the Amazai Muddakheyl and Hassanzai tribes, with whom there were no agreements ;

[4]See L. Baha, "The Administration of the North West Frontier Province, 1901-1919", Ph. D. Thesis, London, 1968.

[5]See L. Harris, "British Policy on the North West Fronter of India, 1889-1901", Ph. D. Thesis, London, 1960, for a full list of campaigns.

[6]See John Adye, *Sitana : A mountain campaign on the borders of Afghanistan*, 1863, London : Macmillan and Co., 1930., J.W. Fortescue, A *history of the British Army, Vol.* XIII, 1852-1870, pp. 423-455 for a military account of the expedition.

and three from Uthmanzai and Judoon territory. Of the Uthmanzai, Adams wrote, "considering their position, they can scarcely be held responsible," for though friendly they were subject to "the dominance of their more enterprising and powerful neighbours." Of the Judoons he reported that they were not themselves involved in either robbery or kidnapping. And the 'Hindustani fanatics'[7] he particularly reported to be personally free of any active crime. Most important he also made it clear that the move down from Mulka by the Saiyeds was caused by the lack of agricultural lands there, by "the pinching of positive want." So much so that Saiyed Mabarak Shah had to borrow grain "and the straitness of his circumstances was evinced by the fact that, on several occasions, overtures of peace, forsooth ! were brought to me by his friends, but of a nature which could not be listened to."

Adams' remedy for this situation was to send in a force of not less than five thousand troops to expel the Hindustanis, to exact redress from broken pledges and place relations "on a satisfactory footing." October, when the crops were ripening and offer "a means of inflicting condign punishment on all who may refuse to accede to our demands," would be a favourable time. It will be noted that the 'Wahabis' on Adams' own report, had not entered Sitana and had committed no crime, other than that of being fanatically muslim. But they were, nevertheless, to be driven from their refuge at Mulka though this was not in British territory. It was the same case with the Hassanzais ; they had behaved tolerably since 1853, they were bound by no agreements, the most that can be said was that, they were believed to be ready to welcome 'Wahabis' of whom "it is said that they meditate sending a party". However, they "are beginning to forget the lesson...taught them by Colonel Mackeson."[8]

The campaign, had, however, an unusual element in the presence among the hill tribes of persons loosely described as 'Syeds' or 'Hindustani fanatics'. They were the followers, local or from the Ganges valley of Saiyed Ahmed Shah, a religious leader from Bareilly who in 1824 had left British territory to wage a holy war on the frontier against the Sikhs. He was supported by local leaders, such as the grandsons of Saiyid Zamin Shah of

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[7]Hindustani fanatics were believed to be Wahabis. But an old Urdu magazine, *Ishaat-i-Sunnat-Nabiya cited in* Q. Ahmed, *The Wahabi Movement in India*, Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 1966, p. XVIII, asserted that they were really Hanafi muslims. For a short account of Wahabism in India see, *The Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol. IV*, London 1934, p. 1089 ; W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans*, Calcutta 1945, Reprinted from 3rd ed. pp. 3-31.

[8]Dep. Com. Peshawar, Major Adams to Com. Peshawar, 28 July 1862, I.F. (Pol) P., June-August 1862, R 204, Vol. 61 (August) No. 193.

Bunair, and by men and money sent from north India. Ahmed Shah was defeated and killed in 1830, but his followers under the leadership of the local Saiyeds settled at Sitana on land given by the Uthmanzais. The conquest of the Punjab in 1849 brought the British into contact with the Saiyeds and the Uthmanzais. But though correspondence with Patna and Delhi in 1852 showed that 'Wahabis' still hoped to lead a religious war, no attack on the British followed even in the Mutiny year. Not till 1858 did an attack on a British officer's camp call down an expedition on Panjtar and Sitana by Brigadier Cotton. Some fifty Hindustanis were killed and the hundred and twenty survivors moved back to Mulka, a village on the Mahabun mountain granted by the Amazais.

Engagements were then taken from the two tribes nearest the British border, the Judoons and the Uthmanzais, binding them to keep the Saiyeds and Hindustanis out of their Sitana lands and to prevent raiders crossing their tribal territory into British India. When in 1861 the raiders were allowed through, and the Saiyeds moved towards Sitana, a blockade was established. The tribesmen thereupon persuaded the 'Wahabis' to return to Mulka, and they themselves renewed their engagements in October 1861.[9]

In August 1862, however, the Punjab Government again expressed anxiety about the Sitana situation and called upon Major Adams, the deputy commissioner of Hazara, for a report. His lenghty report, a model of clarity, surveyed the general strength and situation of the tribes upon the border and then made plain the intractableness of the problem of the Saiyeds and their Hindustani followers. Despite the deaths of so many in 1858 and the enlistment of many other Saiyeds under their chief, Mahmood Shah in Musgrave's Horse, the remainder could not support themselves at Mulka except by occasional raiding expeditions. The 1861 blockade for that reason had caused only the most temporary respite in these raids. The Uthmanzais and Judoons though guiltless of active hostilities, were too faction ridden to be effective maintainers of peace. Finally, he explained the peculiar importance of the 'Wahabis' who keeping aloof from inter-tribal quarrels, by their sanctity of purpose and life, their organisation and comparative wealth, were spoken of by all as "*sans peur et sans reproche.*"

Adams coscluded his exposition by declaring that "as an enemy in the field these [Wahabis] men would be utterly contemptible", but that as "the germs of a crescentade in which the tribes of Islam shall be gathered to gether to wage a holy war against the Feringhee", their presence, "affects our prestige". More particularly as they threaten the Umb chief's trans-

[9]Davies, see. Govt. of Punjab to Durand, See. Govt. of India in the foreign department, 16 August 1862., *Ibid.*, No. 191.

Indus lands—"an outpost held in strength between us and the wild tribes that lie beyond." To Adams' report the Peshawar commissioner, Robert Taylor gave his strong approval, though he had no acquaintance with the country.[10]

Sir Robert Montgomery, the lieutenant-Governor in forwarding this correspondence added his own strong plea for action. He set out his reasons : "first, our high roads have been rendered unsafe...and our administration has been degraded in the eyes of the population...", second the Uthmanzais and the Judoons had broken the engagements and so laid themselves open to punishment, third and most important, it was urgently necessary, "to remove this hot bed of fanaticism and political machinations." Since their numbers seems to be increasing, they should be attacked at once, in force. As an after thought, Montgomery added that he wished to make it clear that the Hindustanis had taken no part in the murders and kidnappings. They were to be attacked for being a centre of intrigue, and more essentially, because the Saiyed leader drew importance and prestige from their presence in his territory.[11]

But to the Punjab Government's request, Elgin on 29 August 1862 replied, "The Governor-General in council considers the present time would be very inopportune for an expedition which so far as your statements show, is not actually nor urgently necessary."[12] Undaunted the Punjab Government then proposed in September to set about disarming Hazara and solicited Elgin's sanction. The strongest reason for doing so was that the tribes, "though they have been tolerably quiet under our rule, gave infinite trouble to the Sikh armies." Besides there were two European regiments within the districts in addition to the troops and mountain trains at Abbottabad, and General Chamberlain was himself in the district.[13] But Elgin again said No. He wanted no risk of the frontier being disturbed, and pointed out that there had been no provocation from Hazara since 1857.[14]

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[10] *Ibid.*, Taylor, Com. Peshawar to Davies, Sec. Govt. of Punjab., 11 August 1862, No, 193 and P.S.

[11] *Ibid.*, Davies, Sec. of Govt, of the Punjab to Durand, Sec. For Deptt. Govt. of India, 16 August 1862, No 191, paras 12-14, 16-18.

[12] *Ibid.*, Durand to Davies, 29 Aug, 1862, No 195.

[13] Davies to Duraud, 8 Sept, 1862 *I.F.* (*Pol.*), *P. Sept-Nov.* 1862, *R* 204, *Vol.* 62, (Sept) No 146, Paras 2+3.

[14] *Ibid.*, Durand to Davies, 22 Sept. 1862, No. 147. Durand also wrote privately to Wood on 18 October.

"Sir R. Montgomery had not carried his projected disarming of the Hazara and Hill districts. It is as well for there has been no late provocation and the measure would of course have been exceedingly unpopular, and not without unfairness to the border districts. He was told that it was very inadiviseable to disturb the frontier at the present juncture and unless the disarming could be done without opposition, it had better not be attempted."

W.P., Vol. 78/67/2. ff. 17-18.

Already much irritated by Beadon's high handedness, Elgin wrote privately to Wood, the Secretary of State for India to let off steam.

> The Punjaib people seem rather anxious to get up a row to keep their hands in. All the officials there retire to the summit of the mountains during the summer, and when the cool weather comes, flock down to the plains, full of life and energy and keen to expend them. Sir R. Montgomery first proposed a raid against certain savages among the hills who for some time past at least have been more than usually quiet, justifying his proposal on the plea that we had a large force in the Province and not much for it to do. When I received this suggestion rather coldly he intimated to me *by telegraph* that he would like to disarm the inhabitants in certain parts of the Punjab where the disarming enactments have not hitherto been applied. There was no allegation that these people were abusing this privilege and I answered that if he took this step he must do so on his own responsibility and satisfy himself beforehand that it would not lead to a row, as I could not possibly decide in favour of such a measure on a curt telegraphic reference which assigned no special reason.[15]

Wood concurred fully with Elgin's attitude and replied, "I am delighted to read your views on Punjab affairs. I entirely applaud and approve. Do for heaven's sake let us keep quiet. We have got into a very happy state and ought to cultivate the arts of peace even in the Punjab. Nothing is so expensive and generally speaking so fruitless as war on a great scale by civilised nations on savages."[16] Thus firmly supported from home, Elgin prevented any forward move in the Punjab in 1862.

In July 1863, however, Elgin came to agree that military action was necessary, reversing his own earlier stand and ignoring the Secretary of State's whole-hearted condemnation of the frontier wars. Why ? In 1862, safe in civilian Calcutta, Elgin had not been impressed by Montgomery's recital of kidnappings, nor of his fears of a Muslim conspiracy and had probably been conscious of the disapproval, both of the distant Secretary of State and of the finance member for any expenditure on frontier wars. In March 1863, however, Elgin stayed with Montgomery at Lahore, and as the latter's letters to Bruce[17] show, Montgomery was very satisfied with the visit.[18] By July 1863 Elgin was in Simla, away from his civilian councillors, subject to the influence of Rose, the Commander-in-Chief, who even in 1862 had fed Elgin

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[15]Elgin to Wood, *W.P*, 19 Oct. 1862, Vol. 78/56/3, ff. 154-156.

[16]Wood to Elgin, *E.P.* 26 Nov. 1862, Vol. F83/7c. ff, 791-792, Wood to Durand, *W.P.*, 3 Dec. 1862. Letter Book II, f. 298.

[17]Herbert Bruce, was the Inspector-General of India.

[18]Montgomery to Bruce, *B.P.*, 5 March 1863, B.M. Add. Mss. 43993, f. 157.

with reports of Muslim hostility inside and outside India[19] and of Norman, the military secretary of the Government of India. Norman himself had experience of frontier campaigns in 1850 with Sir Charles Napier at Kohat and afterwards against the Afridis, Mohmunds and the Uthman Kheyls. He had distinguished himself in the mutiny and had come out to India as military secretary as Sir Charles Wood's appointee, and a favourite of the Duke of Cambridge.[20] His strong support for the campaign must have surely influenced Elgin[21] especially as the military member, Colonel Napier had assured the viceroy, in a private letter that the campaign was "easy and certain work in experienced hands."[22] His conversations with Sir Herbert Edwardes in Simla, another Punjab man with much frontier experience may also have helped to convince Elgin.[23] Elgin also shared in the general unease which the death of the Amir and consequent disorders in Afghanistan caused in the Punjab.[24]

Elgin was not unaware of the conflicts around him, and was certainly conscious of Montgomery's failures. But a year later, he had a change of heart and gave in to the proposals put forward by Montgomery. This seems partly to have been his preference for Norman rather to Rose as a man.

In Elgin's council, Rose, had argued against the Sitana campaign. In July 1863 Elgin was ready to accept the Commander-in-Chief's arguments in favour of absorbing the Punjab frontier force under his command, though anxious not to enlarge his authority unduly.[25] Towards the Punjab authorities on the other hand, Elgin showed himself rather hostile, wary of Montgomery and firm in refusing a campaign in 1862, because he "detected in the advice given a desire to find employment for a large military force, and to wind up his Govt. with a little military glory".[26] But by summer 1863, the balance had tipped the other way. Why ? One influence was certainly that of Wood who had warned Elgin against allowing Rose any latitude from the very start.[27]

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[19]Elgin to Rose, *E.P.*, 15 July 1862, Vol. F83/28, ff. 9-13.

[20]*D.N.B.* Vol. 3 Second Supplement (1912) pp. 21-24 ; Duke of Cambridge to Elgin, *E.P.*, 28 Jan, 1862, Vol. F83/24, ff. 891-892.

[21]Rose to Denison, *R.P.*, II Dec. 1863, B.M. Add. Mss. 42815 f. 41.

[22]Napier to Elgin, *E.P.*, 22 Sept. 1863, Vol. F83/23b, f. 889,

[23]Lady Edwardes, Memorials of the Life and Letters of Major Gereral Sir H.B. Edwardes, London, (Macmillan & Co,) 1886, pp. 290-91.

[24]Elgin to Wood, *W.P.*, 30 July 1863, 4 Oct. 1863, Vol. F78/56/64., ff. 135, 99-100. Montgomery to Bruce, *B.P.*, 3 August [1863] B.M. Add. Mss. 43993, f, 164.

[25]Elgin to Wood, *W.P.*, 22 July 1862, Vol. F78/56/2, ff 51-52.

[26]Elgin to Wood, *Ibid.*, 30 July 1863, Vol. F78/56/6, f. 135.

[27]Wood to Elgin, *E.P.*, 10 May 1862, Vol F83/7a ff. 212B-212C.

Again, while recognising the advantages of giving Rose command of all Punjab forces, Wood told Elgin, "On the other hand you know my unwillingness to magnify the C in C into a power which may be antagonistic to the Gov. General and I am too well aware that the leanings of the Court and the military authorities at home are all likely to be thrown into the C in C's side."[28] Wood's warnings were doubtless reported by many of the civilians in the council and secretariat at Calcutta, for there was an undercurrent of antagonism between civilians and military men.

The most influential voices in the summer of 1863 were probably those of Durand in the foreign department, through which the Sitana affair was dealt with, and of Norman, the secretary of the military department. Both these men were with Elgin up in Simla, and they were the channels of communication with the outside world once Elgin had set off on his hill tour. Durand, if he shared civilian distrust of Rose was too discreet to say so, but Norman was involved in conflict with Rose over a period of months. Moreover, both Durand and Norman were Punjab men by previous service and in this sense were not impartial in the wider contest for authority between the Punjab Government and the Commander-in-Chief.

Another reason for Elgin's change of mind could be the way in which the Punjab Covernment reported events to him. It will be recalled that the first reports in 1863 as in 1862 came from Major Adams. He established that it was Syed Mahmood Shah, nephew of Mubarak, but since 1857, a risaldar in the cavalry and police, who had moved to Sitana with his followers. Other men had also moved with him, described as Hindustanis, but in Adams' view, "with more correctness, I suspect, Judoons." Such Hindustanis as had moved and gone, not to Sitana but to Gobia, their purpose being "to assist in the amicable adjust—must of his (Mahmood Shah's) claim against the Pathans", i.e. those who had occupied Sitana, Adams noting Mahmood Shah's claim to possess a *parwanah*, recorded his own belief that Mahmood Shah proposed merely to settle on the Sitana lands. Adams' response had been to call upon the Judoons to compel the Saiyed to withdraw.

Three days later Adams reported the presence of Hindustanis, but at Khubul, just over the Yusufzai border. He was now ready to accept that an attack on Umb was contemplated—though he does not say why—and he had ordered the Umb minister to strengthen his defences by calling out his militia. He did take, note, however, that the Judoons had replied to his

[28]Wood to Elgin, *E.P.*, 17 Sept 1863, Vol. F 83/8 ff, 385-386.

A pencilled note to the Home Government's despatch of 16 April 1864 says of Rose: "We know that this gallant officer was not content with a "Little War" but would gladly have undertaken a Great War." From S.of S. in C. to G.G. in C. *M.D.I.* 1864, Vol. *L/MIL*/3/2235.

remonstrance by saying that they had been told that the Saiyed had a Government order for Sitana.

From this qualified and uncertain picture, of which the clearest feature is that, the Hindustanis were certainly not at Sitana though they might be at Gobia or Khubul, Montgomery produced the bold statement in his letter to Elgin of 9 July, that "Hindostanees have re-occupied Sitana, and apparently threaten the territory of the Tunowlee Chief of Umb."[29]

Montgomery then promised to keep the supreme government informed "of any further aggressive proceedings on the part of the Syuds and Hindostanees." From the Government's reply of 21 July it is clear that Adams' detailed report was not forwarded to Elgin. It appears in the Indian Foreign (Political) Proceedings for July-September 1863 but under the usual rules for correspondence would not have reached the Secretariat before August at the earliest. On 15 July a Punjab Government statement revealed that Mahmood Shah, who for political reasons had been found government employment since 1857, had indeed asked for a *parwanah* for Sitana, though apparently this had been refused. This was not included, however, in the letter of that date reporting to Simla the authorisation of a blockade. The next letter to Simla reported the Hindostanis as having "entrenched themselves"—but police reports had actually spoken of their being "engaged in constructing dwelling places" and occupying a tower—while by 14 August the reports were of troop movements to meet "the expected attack" on Umb.

What is very obvious from these records is that the supreme government had little but bare statements from the Punjab authorities upon which to make a decision, and that until late in August requests for information were scarcely met. It is equally clear that such reports were submitted which often did not fairly represent the situation as given by Adams and his informants. When a comparison is made with events in Jaintia, it is also striking that there was no enquiry about possible grievances and no proposals for conciliation other than force. The question obviously arises whether or not the hostile union of the tribes was due to the Punjab Government's measures of 3 July : the proclamation to the Uthmanzais and Judoons, the calling out of the militia, the imposition of a blockade, the offering of five pounds a head to neighbouring tribes for every Judoon caught in their territory, and the seizure of the Judoons' cotton crop. These may have provided the conditions under which a religious appeal against the Feringhee was most likely to be listened to.[30] Taylor at Peshawar spoke of the Hindustains as more active,

[29]From Offg. Sec. Govt. of Punjab to Durand, 9 July 1863, *I.F.* (*Pol*) *P. JulySept.* 1863. *R* 204 Vol. 67, (July) No. 166.

[30]It is notable that despite the government's repressive moves, including the threatening assembling of troops in lange numbers, no attacks on either Umb or British positions occurred before 7 September.

spending more money in bribes, more successful in their appeals, and the combination of the tribes as more extensive than before, but he sought an explanation in the possibility that "the Syuds have some promised support or diversion on which they are leaning," though he could find none, rather than in the inadequacy of past British responses. As for the future, "The severe punishment of these faithless tribes is the only method," he declared, of preventing the tribes consorting, "with men whose professed intention is to disturb the peace and tolerance of all creeds which exist in our territories; their chief animosity being, of course, directed against the Christian dominant race."[31]

Elgin certainly was persuaded to see matters as Taylor did. Where Montgomery noted that "Col. Taylor hints at a rumour of the Hindostanee fanatics having made overtures to the Akhoond of Swat."[32] The Government of India, in the Military department confidently stated that, "it was reported that overtures had been made to the Akhoond of Swat.[33] Adams had carefully distinguished between the parts played by the Syeds and the 'Wahabis', but the Punjab Government wrote that "murders attributed to the Hindostanee Syuds have been committed on our roads"[34] and the supreme government likewise called those who had moved to Sitana, without distinction, "Hindostanee fanatics"[35] This term concealed the fact that it was the ex-police officer Mahmood Shah who had re-occupied Sitana, after first seeking permission in due form, that the 'wanton aggression' spoken of so freely covered a movement in search of food, and that the "troublesome horde of fanatics had been originally reported as coming to effect an amicable settlement between Mahmood Shah and the tribal occupiers of the land he claimed. Montgomery had set up the argument that he might "for a time avert the necessity for a campaign by availing himself of the feuds and factions of the different tribes," only to dismiss this as a waste of favourable opportunity.[36] Elgin did not even formally argue a case, but declared that it was proper to strike at the tribes while their league "is still of contracted area and of manageable dimensions".[37] It is however in concentrating his attention

[31]Taylor to Sec. Govt. of Punjab, 27 August 1863, *I.F.* (*Pol.*) *P. Oct-Dec.* 1863, *R* 204, Vol. 68, (Dec.) No. 137.

[32]Sec. Govt. of Punjab to Durand, 15 Sept. 1863, *Ibid.*, No. 149, Para 2a.

[33]Durand to Davies, 24 Sept. 1863, *I. M. P. October* 1863, *R* 192, *Vol. II*, No. 291, Para 2.

[34]Davies to Duvand, 15 Sept. 1863, *I. F.* (*Pol*) P. *Oct-Dec.* 1863, *R.* 204 Vol. 68 (Dec) No. 149. Para 12.

[35]Durand to Davies 24 Sept. 1863, *I.M.P. Nov.* 1863, *R* 192, Vol. 12, No 380.

[36]Davies to Durand 15 Sept. 1863, *I. F.* (*Pol*) *P, Oct. Dec.* 1863, R. 204 Vol. 68, (Dec.) No. 149.

[37]Durand to Davies, 24 Sept. 1863, *I.M.P. Oct.* 1863, *R.* 192, *Vol. II*, No 291, Para 2. From S. of S. in C. to G.G. in C. 23 Dec. (436) 1863.

upon the Hindustani fanatics and making their destruction the main aim that Elgin most clearly echoed the Punjab authorities, with their Mutiny-inspired fears of a Muslim conspiracy.

Having reached that point Elgin was seemingly driven to mention immediate large scale action because he feared otherwise to be entangled in long drawn out operations which would impose a corsiderable strain. Sir Charles Wood certainly fully concurred. Wood on 23 December 1863, replying to letters of Elgin of 26 September and 3 October, wrote, "I concern with His Lordship in thinking that it is most desirable to obviate if possible by prompt and immediate action the necessity of operations on a large scale at a later period."[38]

But though persuaded, Elgin was still uneasily and had temperedly aware of having been pushed into action.

On 29 September he wrote to Rose, the Commander-in-Chief of India :—

> This is not the first occasion on which I have had to complain of the short time given me by the Punjab Govt. when asking me to sanction projects such as that now submitted by them. Sir Robert Montgomery did the same thing last year desiring me to authorize a military expedition of this nature by telegraph. As there was no reason of urgency at that time to justify proposal I declined to give my assent. At present I think that it is desirable that we should act at once if possible. But I did not give a favourable reply to Sir R. Montgomery until after I had communicated with you and obtained your sanction to the undertaking."[39]

Elgin had only most reluctantly given his assent, but "the pressure put upon him and the evidence submitted to him was such as no civil Governor dependent on military advisers and on the representations of responsible subordinate government would be likely to resist." For, said Maine, "he was assured that the recent inroads of the fanatics were the direct consequences of his last year's supineness, and he was told most distinctly that, if he again held back the disturbances would be renewed another year with usury[40].

Under these circumstances, the resistance put up by the central government in 1862 to allow a campaign in Sitana finally broke down, and compelled the Government of India to sanction it in 1863.

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[38]*M.D.I.* 1863 *Vol. L/MIL/3/2234.*

It will be seen that the details contained in the Punjab proceedings only reached Wood in 1864. When they did he at once angrily commented upon the misleading nature of the earlier reports upon Sitana. See Wood's letters to Denison, Trevelyan, Maine, and Lawrence. *W. P. Letter* Book. 15.

[39]Elgin to Rose, *E.P.*, 29 Sept. 1863, Vol. F83/28 ff 24-26.

[40]Maine to Wood, *W. P.*, 20 Nov. 1863, F78/114/1, ff. 89-91. Sir Henry Maine was the Law member of the Governor-General's Council.

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SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE IN THREE BANGLADESH VILLAGES : CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

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Introduction :

This paper intends to provide an outline of socio-economic structure in rural Bangladesh. In view of the resources available, it was not possible to take up a large area for the study and, therefore, three villages were selected for the purpose. The selected villages were Birgaon in Dhaka, Kudimdola in Tangail and Bhourkhola in Comilla.

The study was conducted through field work. Field work was done in these villages from the middle of June 1983 to the beginning of February 1984. The whole process of data collection from the field was carried out through (a) administration of questionnaire, (b) field observation and (c) discussion with cross section of people.

Location of the Villages : Kudimdola, Birgaon and Bhourkhola villages are located in three Upazilas where we conducted our fieldwork. Kudimdola administratively falls under Mirzapur Upazila of Tangail district. It is located 46 miles north-east of Dhaka, and Tangail is about 19 miles north of this village.

Kudimdola is one of the constituent villages of Jamurki Union Parishad. Birgaon is located on the southern side of Raipura Upazila in Dhaka district, and is 30 miles to the south-east of Dhaka city. It is in Nilyakha Union Parishad which comprises of several villages. Administratively Bhourkhola is a part of Daudkandi Upazila, Comilla district. The river Meghna flows by the eastern side of this village. Dhaka is 20 miles west of the village. The village is in Barakanda Union Parishad.

Kudimdola is off the Dhaka-Tangail road. Bus is the principal means of communication. Rickshaws also ply between Mirzapur and Kudimdola. Dhaka-Tangail bus road is the only one that connects this village with other parts of the country.

Railways, waterways and buses are the three different means of communication for the people of Birgaon. The village has no proper railway and bus services. An unpaved road, running through the middle of the village connects it with Mathikanda.railwry station. Buses and railways run through Mathikanda to Dhaka City.

Daudkandi is located on the Dhaka-Chittagong road. Bus is the principal means of communication which carries hundreds and thousands of people

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every day from Daudkandi and adjoining villages. Bhourkhola is one such adjoining village where we conducted our field work. As mentioned earlier, Bhourkhola is 6 miles from Daudkandi. There are unpaved roads which connect this village with Daudkandi. Country boats carry passengers between Bhourkhola and Daudkandi.

Demography : Total population of the study villages was 3,850 at the time of our survey. Table 1 shows the distribution of population in the study villages by sex and honseholds. There were 1955 (50.76 percent) males and 1,896 (49.22 percent) females.

Table—1

Distribution of the Population by Sex, Households and Villages

Village	Male	Female	Total	Total H.H.
Kudimdola	505	495	1000	150
Birgaon	690	660	1350	220
Bhourkhola	760	740	1500	245
All	955	1895	3850	615

There are 615 households[1] in the study villages. Average size of households is, thus, 6.2 which is slightly higher than the national figure of 5.8[2].

The above table shows that Bhourkhola has the highest number of households. Birgaon, the second largest village has 220 households. Kudimdola is the smallest unit with 150 households.

These villages have both the Hindus and Muslims, the latter being predominant. The Muslims belong to the Sunni sect. But the Hindus belong to low caste, comprised of *namasudra* category. Table 2 gives the distribution of population by households and religion.

[1]It will be noticed that the smallest unit in this study as comprising a number of individuals has been described as a household, for this is the smallest economic unit of rural society of Bangladesh. Although in common parlance this unit in Bangladesh is described as a family and is so mentioned in many studies, it was considered necessary to differentiate a household from a family because of their wide conceptual difference. A family represents a unit of the social organization of the people and is essentially determined by an analysis of the lineage structure and kin-grouping. But a household describes an economic unit and may not, therefore, conform entirely to such a structural concept in sociology, see, R. K. Mukherjee, *Six Villages of Bengal*, Bombay, 1971, p. 41.

[2]Census Report 1974.

Table—2

Distribution of Population by Religion

Village	Relgious Group		Total
	Hindu	Muslim	
Kudimdola	10	140	150
Birgaon	40	180	220
Bhourkhola	50	195	245
All	100	515	615

Education : There is no reliable information regarding literacy in the villages but our investigation shows that most people are illiterate. Our data on education are gathered from the household survey. Children generally start attending schools and madrashas at five and plus.

Our data show that about 30 percent people from Kudimdola is literate. In Birgaon nearly 35 percent people is literate, while literacy rate in Bhourkhola is about 38 percent.[3] But most of the Muslims can read the Quran without understanding.

Habitation Area : Village settlement is clearly marked. However, cultivable lands are separated from homestead area. *Bari* (homesteads) are independently located. Individual housing condition of a homestead clearly shows its owner's socio-economic status.

With the increase in population homesteads are being built on new lands, causing a tremendous pressure on cultivable land.

Physically all the villages under study are divided into a number of *paras* (neighbourhood). There are six *paras* in Kudimdola, each surrounded by cultivable lands. Birgaon is divided into seven *paras* and Bhourkhola into ten *paras*.

Paras are known either by the location or by the title of gosti (lineage) or caste categories. Para division do not reflect internal differentiation in the villages.

Kinship Organization

Basic kinship units of these villages are *gosti* (lineage) and Paribar (family). A *gosti* consists of people related to each other by patrilineal descent. Also, people of our study villages are linked to other villages by kinshipties.

[3]These figutes are higher than the national average. According to the Statistical Profile of Education in Bangladesh 1978, national literacy rate is 22.2 percent.

The kinship organization also serves an important role in politics. The political organization and the kinship organization are closely linked. Village *Matbars* (leaders), members of Grampanchayat (Village Council) and Union Parishad are a part of kinship organization.

Next important unit of kinship organization is family. It is observed that most of the families are nuclear in character, there are 75 joint families and the rest are nuclear (total number of households being 615).

Joint family consists of father, mother and their grown up sons, their wives and children. They live as an independent socio-economic unit. All are fed from a single kitchen and receive money from family purse. The property of all is held in common under the trusteeship of the senior male. But every member shares property in a dejure manner. In theory Muslim females get share of property from the joint family. All in the joint family work together for the family's welfare.

Joint families are in a process of formation and fusion. A joint family over a period of time breaks up and creates several nuclear units. This causes the division of common property as well. I have observed that most common reason for such splitup is that, women in the family could not get along well together. Thus parted, a man alone or a set of brothers establish a new family. As their children grow to adulthood and get married and beget children, the joint family may increase to an unmanagable size, being conducive to partition and the process in repeated.

The picture we get of our study villages' family pattern is one consisting of small number of joint families and a large number of nuclear families. In addition, there are few cases of *Ghar Jamai* (sons-in-law in residence) in our study villages. This means when a son-in-law lives with his father-in-law's lineage which is not a usual residential rule. The usual residence rule is patrilocal. Generally sons-in-law, stay in the wives' houses if there are no sons to take over the property and look after the parents.

Village Factions :

Factions play a dominant role not only in our study villages but also over rural Bangladesh.[4] In our study villages factions are a part of village life. For example, lineages, status groups, castes and other groupings are all associated with factional politics. Factions are locally known as *gostis*, which means groupings based on kinship lineage. Every faction has its own leaders.

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[4]See, A.B. Sharfuddin Ahmed, *Bizna : A Study of Power Structure in Contemporary Rural Bangladesh*, (Dhaka : Banglacesh Books International Ltd., 1983), See also A.K.M. Aminul Islam, *A Bangladesh Village : Conflict and Cohesion*, (New Jersey : 1974).

There are six major factions based on kinship lineage in Kudimdola. Birgaon has eight major factions and Bhourkhola ten major factions. In these villages there are minor factions too. Every faction has its own founder and thereby known by its founder. The followers of a faction are patrilineally related to its founder. They are also ecologically very close to each other. The factions play a major role in preserving the interest of the respective lineage.

Members of hostile factions will not attend each others' ceremonies, will not visit each others' homes and will not smoke *hokkah* (traditional smoking pipe) together, except in the house of a member of a neutral zone. And the same holds true for women. But the children are generally free from such hostility. They may quarrel over trifling matters but become friendly again before days end.

Factions are not always hostitle but also have some positive and co-operative functions. There are some occasions when members of hostile factions may unite for common action. For example, funeral, construction of village school, organizing market and levelling play ground, repairing of sub-canals for irrigation. And festivals like *Eid-ul-Fitre, Eid-ul-Azha* and other religious functions bind them together. Participation in matters involving welfare of the village is done without any factional basis . It appears from our observations in the field that village unpaved roads were constructed by the villagers with the help of all factions.

Agriculture

The economic organization of these villages is largely characterized by agriculture. Agriculture has been the basic economic factor in these villages. Most of the villagers depend directly or indirectly on agriculture. Agriculture is the source of livelihood to the most of the people of our study villages since the economy of these villages is primarily based on agriculture.

Cropping Pattern

Land use pattern in the study villages demonstrates the cultivation of a variety of crops which includes in order of preference paddy, jute, wheat and other winter crops. Paddy is the major crop being cultivated on about 60 percent of the arable land of the villages. Among the different kinds of paddy, *Aman* is produced significantly, commanding 40 percent of the total land under paddy cultivation. Mixed cropping of *Aus* and *Aman* ranks second followed by HYV *Boro* and transplanted *Boro*. Jute is the second largest crop cultivated in the villages. Two varieties of jute, *Deshi* and *Baghi* are produced in the villages. It is also considered one of the cash crops. The cultivation of jute is reduced to a considerable extent, after the independence of Bangladesh because the price of jute and paddy is almost the

same. On the other hand, the cost of production of jute per acre is higher than the cost of paddy. After paddy and jute comes wheat in order of preference but it ranks high among the winter crops grown in the villages. Potato is also one of the important *rabi* crops in these villages. It is in great demand, being the main vegetable consumed by the villagers. But very few cultivators can grow enough potatoes to sell a part of them. On the other hand, being unable to produce the crop in sufficient quantity, many peasants have to buy potatoes for consumption for nearly a quarter of the year. Oilseeds are also produced in these villages. Bhourkhola ranks high in order of oilseed production. The other rabi crops grown are brinjals, chillies, onions, garlic and the two pulses pea gram and kidney-bean. All such produce can partly be sold but insufficient for consumption throughout the year. Potato, chilli, onion and garlic are cultivated by almost all the cultivators and the pulses and brinjal by many of them. Pulses, chilli, tomato and oilseeds are cultivated more frequently in Bhourkhola because the land of this village is most suitable for these kind of products. In Birgaon some farmers also produce sugarcane and watermelon.

The rotation of cultivation of crops is commonly practised in these svillages. This is done mainly for two reasons. Firstly, the cultivation of one crop alone on the same plot of land year after year leads to deficiency of the land. Secondly, the villagers like to utilize at least a portion of their holding for more than one crop to receive larger profits from their small holdings. The two common forms of rotation are : high land used for *aman* paddy and then for winter crops like potato, pulses etc ; high land used for *Baghi* jute cultivation are utilized for seedling beds for *Rowa* (transplanted winter paddy) and then for winter crops like wheat, potato, oilseeds, etc. The low lands are also utilized for the rotation of crops. Again this happens in two ways land used for *agrahayani,* crops are followed by winter crops and land used for *Deshi* jute are followed by the cultivation of *rowa* and HYV paddy.

In our study villages mixed cropping of rabi crops are carried out on a large scale. Cultivation of more than one *rabi* crop simultenously in one plot of land is a common feature. It is observed in these villages that the villagers produce wheat, oilseeds and pulses in the same plot of land.

Although there is the predominance of paddy in our study villages, there is some variation by variety of paddy. In Bhourkhola *Aman* is produced significantly because Bhourkhola lands are mostly low where flood water enters easily from the river Meghna. And *Aman* paddy can face flood water. In Bhourkhola there is also the predominance of *rowa* paddy and jute. Jute is grown in the low level land. After jute, villagers transplant *rowa* paddy in the same plot of land. High lands particularly, Baghi jute land are utilized for the seedling bed for *rowa* paddy. Cultivation of HYV *boro* is limited to

a few acreage in Bhourkhola because there is no sufficient irrigation facilities there. But local *boro* is cultivated widely in the village.

In Kudimdola HYV *boro* ranks high in order of crop cultivation because the village offers facility of artifical irrigation as a result of recent electrification. B. *Aus* and B. *Aman* are the second major crops of Kudimdola. *Jute* cultivation is limited there for the arrival of HYV *boro*.

In Birgaon *Aus*, *Aman* and *Rowa* paddy are cultivated mostly. Jute is the second largest produce of this village. After this comes the cultivation of HYV *boro*.

Wheat as an item of *rabi* crop is significantly produced in all the villages. It is the major *rabi* crop in the study villages.

Potato is the second largest *rabi* crop of these villages. Oilseeds are largely grown in Bhourkhola. Pulses also occupy a significant position in the crop list of Bhourkhola. Chillies are also one of the important cash crops of Bhourkhola. Village people are of the opinion that Bhourkhola soil are congenial for the production of chillies. In Birgaon potato is significantly cultivated. The village also produces pulses and oilseeds. In Kudimdola wheat and pulses are the major *rabi* crop. Cultivation of oilseeds is limited.

Cropping pattern also significantly differs within region depending on topography. Low land in all the study villages is utilized only for paddy, mainly *Aman, boro, irri* and mixed *Aus* and *Aman*. Medium land is being used for the cultivation of B. *Aus*, B. Aman, mixed B. *Aus*, B. *Aman*, *Rowa, deshi* Jute and *rabi* crops. High land is being cultivated for B. *Aus*, B. *Aman*, *Baghi* Jute and *rabi* crops. At this stage mixed cropping should be clearly analysed. Among other characteristics of cropping mixed cropping may be something special. The most and extensively used combination of mixed cropping exists among the paddy. Mixed cropping of paddy is practised only in low and medium lands. There is no difference in combination and pattern of mixed cropping by villages but they differ in magnitude. One may be surprised that broadcasting of some of these crop combination is done at a time.

Aus and *Aman* are broadcast simulteneously but harvested in different times. *Aus*, is harvested earlier leaving *Aman* in the field.

Occupation Structure : Household occupation has been defined as that occupation of a household on which it depends solely or primarily for its subsistence. In the study villages in majority cases a single occupation is not remunerative to provide for the entire household. Therefore the income receipients take to more than one occupations (usually two) of which one is considered as primary and the others subsidiary.

It appears that out of 615 households nearly 500 are engaged in both farm and non-farm activities while the rest depend mainly on single occupation. Household depending on agriculture has been categorized as agricultural labour, sharecropping, leasing and own cultivating. Agriculture seems to be their principal means of livelihood as 66.67 percent of them primarily depend on agriculture. Again the importance of agriculture in the villages can be seen by the fact that agriculture is also secondary occupation to a significant number of household because they provide goods and services to agriculture.

Primary Occupation : Agriculture and agriculture related occupations are the primary sources of livelihood to majority of the households. Social categorywise distribution of household shows that more than half of the landless earn their livelihood through wage labour both in agricultural and nonagricultural activities. It is observed that they do mostly agricultural work. The next major earning activity of this category is fishing followed closely by sharecropping and trading.

Small farmers are largely (80 percent) engaged in operation of own land. A section of them go for trading primarily to earn their livelihood.

Primary occupations of medium and large farmers are highly characterized by farming. More than 93 percent of the medium farmers are directly engaged in agriculture. Almost all large landowners primarily depend on agriculture in one way or the other.

Secondary Occupation : Secondary occupation of the head of households of the study villages is also significantly characterized by agriculture and agriculture related work. The members of artisan, service and small trading groups earn also by providing goods and services to agriculure. People belonging to other occupational groups also own land in the villages.

Since the village economy is primarily based on agriculture the traders, artisans and other also depend on agriculture. The artisans run few indigenous crafts which are carried on a small scale. They serve the village population by weaving, oil pressing, carpentry and tailoring. The form of trade in the villages is either running a shop or paddling from one village to another. The shops are normally of grocery, cloths, food stuff and sundry articles in the village markets. Some of them maintain enterprises outside the village. There are few who are involved in trade in the trading centres like, Dhaka, Narayanganj and Daudkandi.

Women a Work : Women constitute nearly half of population in the study villages. Women from all sections of the villages are not seen to work outside the homes, particularly, in the field because of the prevalence of *purdha* system in these predominantly Muslim villages. Although women

do not work in the field but they perform variety of activities relating to income generation of households. It is observed during the field work that women from landless and small farmers categories do a great deal of work either for own benefit or earning.

Among the earning activities poor women of the study villages are engaged in three types of works. First, they do household work as maid servant. Secondly, they do agriculture and other agriculture related works and thridly, they do processing works.

Among the household work, cooking, washing of cloths, utensils and cleaning of homstead are the major. Poor women get this type of work in the houses of the large farmers.

Agriculture and agriculture related activities include mainly the post-harvesting works and kitchen gardening. Women of all social categories except large farmers do the post-harvesting works such as threshing, winnowing and storing either in their own house or in others' house. Women coming from landless and marginal families do these work on wage basis. They normally get remuneration in kind in the from of a *sari* for each agricultural post-harvesting period plus the food for the period they are employed. Sometimes they also get lumpsum in cash.

A large number of them are also reported to be engaged in late winter for threshing or beating of different kinds of oil seeds and pulses to separate the grains from stalk. Poor and destitute women get these work in the house of large and medium farmers.

Women of small and medium farmer categories also perform this kind of work but for their own reasons. They also employ poor women for threshing of paddy. Winnowing, which is necessary for paddy is being carried out mainly by engaging poor women. Atfter winnowing comes the stage of drying and storing. This is also recognized as women's job. During harvesting periods of different kinds of paddy, oilseeds and pulses destitute and poor women get employment for these works.

Among processing of food grains rice husking is widely carried by the women of our study villages. Although our villages have one rice mill each but these are not enough to meet the demands of rice husking. Medium and large farmers usually husk rice at their homes by engaging poor women on share payment basis. Women carry out this job by using *Dhenki* (a local wooden made implement of husking). The working women get one seer of rice in exchange of husking one maund of paddy.

It is also observed that a good number of women are earning a considerable amount of money by this food processing work. All of them own *Dhenki*. In this case, they purchase paddy from the village, husk it after

boiling and drying and sell in the local markets to earn an income of Taka 25 to 30 per maund of paddy. Marketing of rice is of course, carried out by the male members of the households.

In addition to the above mentioned activities women are also engaged in earning activities through the following activities.

Mat making : A good number of women are engaged in mat making. Most of them are from poor households. They make mat in order to meet their own requirement and also for cash money. They collect date leaf, make mat and sell in the local market to earn an amount of Taka 6 to 8 per mat.

Handicrafts : Handicrafts made of bamboo is a means of earning to a section of women in our study villages. They purchase bamboo and make different kinds of baskets and pans which are necessary for household and agricultural works. They sell their products to the local market through their male members.

Fishing net : Women of the study villages are also engaged in preparing fishing net in order to use for themselves and also to earn cash money. These are being marketed by the male members.

Kantha (embrodidered quilt) : A number of women in the villages under our study are found to be engaged in preparing *kantha.*

Migration : This concerns the number of people working outside the villages in order to earn their livelihood. In Kudimdola 250 persons, in Birgaon approximately 300 persons and in Bhourkhola nearly 350 persons are working outside the villages and they can not sleep and eat with the members of their families. They are temporary visitors and supporters of their women, children and dependants living in the villages. Their level of income does not allow them to bring their families at their places of work.

In Kudimdola 25 households, in Birgaon 40 households and in Bhourkhola 50 households have left the villages to the place of employment of their household heads. All of them own land in the villages but have relations in the villages to whom usufructuary rights of land is handed over and who in turn provide half of the produce to the absentee owners which is a support against inflation to salaried person. Therefore, these people maintain a relationship with their ancestral village homes through the land they own there. 15 persons from Bhourkhola, 5 from Kudimdola and 8 from Birgaon have left their villages to work in the Middle East. All of them are labourers. They have left their parents, young brothers and sisters in the villages to depend on their remittance.

Land : In a predominantly agricultural economy, pattern of life is largely organized around land. In our study villages land is divided into arable and pasture or waste land. There is a basic distinction between arable land and

others. The arable land is essentially meant for cultivation of crops and the pasture land is used as grazing land. Village cattle has free access to grazing on the pasture land. But due to increased population pressure and recent introduction of high yielding variety (HYV), considerable attention has been paid to bring as much land under the cultivation as possible and the result is the virtual extinction of pasture land. For this the villages have practically no grazing lands and no forest resources. Indeed, the scarcity of trees is obvious in these villages. This causes a crucial fuel shortage for which the cowdung and paddy-straw are used, instead of their being used as fertilizers and the cattle are stallfed in most of the time but can be pastured only during post-harvesting periods.

Again the arable land is divided into high, medium and low lands. In the high land production of various crops is very suitable and convenient for which it is valued much. On the other hand, the low land is used for the production of a single crop and then only when the rainfall is favourable.

Landownership Pattern : Ownership of land is an important basis of social, economic and political power in our study villages. The socio-economic status of an individual is largely determined by the size of land he possesses.

Our study has shown that in the study villages landownership lies with people having different social backgrounds and that they do not constitute a homogenous category. One can at least distinguish two broad categories, which are not homegenous themselves. There are the absentee landowners (having residence outside the village, mostly in towns and cities) and resident landowners. The resident landowners can be divided into two categories, non-cultivating owners and owner-cultivators.

In a slightly different manner the landowners can be divided into two categories of rentiers and cultivators. Rentiers are those who depend mostly on rent from land, without contributing any labour and materials to agricultural production. Cultivators are those who contribute labour, either directly or indirectly by participating in the process of cultivation or indirectly by supervising the process of cultivation. There are certain basic difference between the two. The rentier does not invest in the productive process, remains far from the process of production and only gets returns from the tenants to whom the rentier leases out his land. All materials connected with cultivation such as plough, cattle, manure, seed and so on are supplied and managed by the tenants. The rentier does nothing other than paying the annual land revenue,[5] if payable to the government. Infact, all absentee landowners and non-cultivator owners are rentiers. They all depend on the returns from tenants and share croppers, either in kind or in cash.

[5]In 1972, Government of Bangladesh has exempted revenue, upto 25 *bighas* of individual landholding.

In the study villages the form of ownership in land is private. The unit of production in the villages is, thus, based on the individual ownership of holding. Individual plots of land have always been clearly demarcated.

On the basis of ownership and non-ownership of land the study villages have a number of socio-economic categories, such as (a) landless, (b) small farmers, (c) Medium farmers, and (d) large farmers. The following table gives the distribution of population of the study villages by the size of land holding.

Table–3

Distribution of Population by the size of Landholding

Landholding size	No. of household	Percentage
Landless (no land)	215	34.96
Small Farmer (up to 1.50 acres)	191	31.06
Medium Farmers (1.51-3.00 acres)	135	21.95
Large Farmers (More than 3 acres)	74	12.03
Total	615	100.00

The above table shows that the people of the study villages are categorized into landless, small, medium and large farmers. In our village 34.96 percent are landless, 31.06 percent are a small farmers, 21.95 percent are medium farmers and 13.03 percent are large farmers.

Landless : In this study by landless we mean those who own no cultivable land but only homesteads. They constitute about 34.96 percent of total population. Landless of the study villages are divided into (a) landless farmers and (b) landless labourers. Again landless labourers are categorized into agricultural and industrial. Landless farmers are those who do not generally hire out their labour but primarily depend on sharecrop. Only in a case of scarcity do they go for wage labour. They are primarily rooted to agriculture. Some own cattle and agricultural implements.

Landless labourers hire themselves out to small, medium and large farmers on daily wage basis. But during agricultural off-seasons there is little scope for agricultural employment. As a result, a few of them peddle commodities from house to house for livelihood. Some work in the construction of

houses, roads and highways etc. in different places. But they do work there for short period only. The other category of landless workers are generally engaged in industries as wage labourers.

Small Farmer : This category includes those who own upto 1.50 acres. Although they are primarily agriculturists, they have a number of subsidiary occupations for their livelihoods. They readily accept sharecroping. They generally get land from the large and medium farmers for sharecropping. Large and medium farmers prefer them as sharecroppers because they own draught animals and agricultural implements. Small farmers mostly depend on family labour but also hire in labours during agricultural peak seasons.

Medium Farmers : This category constitutes those who own upto 3.00 acres of land. They represent 21.95 percent of total households. They mostly depend on hired labour. They own plough, cattle and other accessories. They generate surplus production which they sell out to the local and urban traders. Crops damage for a year gives them little suffering but repetitive crop damages cause economic miseries.

They are primarily profit oriented on agricultural production, for example, they sharecrop for generating surplus from agricultural production. Not only do they own agricultural implements and draught animals but also they have ability to employ technical inputs such as improved seeds and chemical fertilizers. Also, they hire in agricultural labourers. It is interesting to mention that some of them let out their lands for sharecropping. They primarily do so considering the fact that these land are less fertile or are not suitably located. They inturn lease in or share in those lands which are fertile and suitably located. This amply shows their profit motives in agricultural production.

Again some are non-cultivating owners. They do not directly participate in agricultural activities but depend on the returns from sharecropping and leasing of lands. Their number is insignificant in the study villages. Some employ permanent labours for cultivation. They supervise labours. Among them some are engaged in business and trade.

Besides, some medium farmers living outside the villages mostly in towns and cities derive a steady income from the leasing out their lands in the villages. They live outside the villages due to their nature of employment. Agriculture supplements their income.

Large Farmers : Large farmers are those who own more than 3.00 acres of land. They constitute only 12.03 percent. These farmers generate surplus from agriculture and mostly produce for the market.

Like the medium farmers, the large farmers can be categorized into those who directly participate in the process of cultivation and those who

do not. Those who directly participate in the process of production they depend on hired labour for cultivation. Most employ *Munis* (permanent labour) who are primarily responsible for agricultural operations. In peak season they are to supervise wage labours. When, a *Muni* works for years together for his employer an intimate relationship is established between them.

Some large owner-cultivating farmers lease out their lands to small and medium farmers for management problems.

Non-cultivating farmers are a very few in number. Some are of high status families of the study villages. To them, participation in cultivation is degrading. This group of people generally share crop and lease out their lands.

Also, some due to their nature of employments in non-farm activities such as service, trade and business do not have the opportunity to engage in agriculture directly. But they receive income from share crop and lease out of their lands.

Land in the study villages is acquired through inheritance, purchase and sometimes forcible occupation.[6] The Muslim law of inheritance allows both sons and daughters to have shares of paternal property. But daughters are entitled to half the share of sons. But in our study villages it is common that the women give up their right to parental property and keep their shares with the brothers who enjoy usufructuary rights. This gives the women security in case of divorce or widowhood. She has a right to go and live with the brother(s) who are the custodians of their lands. Moreover, husbands under normal circumstances do not accept shares of in-law's property considering a belief that this would bring misfortune of the family.

Land transactions are common in the villages. In these transactions it is observed that, only a small part of them is acquired by the small farmers. It is evident that the non-cultivating owners who live outside the villages engaged in non-traditional occupations are capable of buying most lands available for selling. A few owner cultivators are also in a position to buy new lands.

Forcible acquisition of land i.e. *khas* land (government land) is common in the villages under study. In Bhourkhola a large farmer allegedly cultivates some *khas* land. This landowner has been cultivating this land for a considerable period of time and nobody dares to challenge it because he is well connected with the local power politics. By now he has stated claiming in public that this piece of land is no longer a *khas* one.

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[6]For a similar study see also, Annlisbet Ara and M.A. Manna, "A Socio-Economic Study of Two Villages Lakshipur Thana. *The Journal of Social Studies,* 22, University of Dhaka, October, 1983, p. 98.

Land Tenure : In the study villages there are three distinct patterns of tenurial relationship locally known as *Chauri, Bargadari* and *Ejaradari*. In addition mortgaging of land is also practised in a limited scale in the villages.

Chauri : The *Chauri* system is practised in all the study villages. The non-cultivating owners fall exclusively under this category. This system of cultivation is followed by those who indirectly engage in cultivation by doing supervision. In fact, *chauri* system of cultivation is widely accepted by those owners who do not have working cattle for ploughing. Such categories of persons normally belong to high status groups. For high status groups, maintenance of cattle for ploughing is degrading. In Kudimdola there are 10 households, in Birgaon 12 and Bhourkhola 15 household. These households do not want to lose the returns from land which is their principal source of income. This is primarily the reason why they prefer this system of cultivation. Under this system ploughing and levelling are assigned to a group of people who generally perform these types of work on cash payment depending on the amount of *bighas* cultivated. In this system the owner bears all the expenses relating to the process of cultivation and in return he gets all the crops after harvest. Persons hired under the *chauri* system are generally landless and small farmers. In Kudimdola 15 households, in Birgaon 18 households, and in Bhourkhola 25 households are engaged in *chauri* system of cultivation.

Bargadari : This system is known as sharecropping. In the tenurial relationship of the study villages it is a singificant aspect. Both cultivating and non-cultivating owners, those who own sizeable amount of land, give a part of their land to others for cultivation on the basis of sharing of crops.

It is observed that landless and small farmers sharecrop mainly for subsistence. But medium farmers do it on profit motive as mentioned earlier. In terms of acreage and incidence of sharecropping landless and small farmers are the majority followed by medium farmers. A major proportion of land under sharecropping comes from the large farmers. Although a section of medium farmers share crop out their lands but in exchange they also share crop in lands.

The following farmers generally sharecrop :

(a) A few small and medium farmers sharecrop. For small farmers their tiny landholding size forced them to enter into such tenurial agreement. They have family labour, agricultural implements, cattle and plough. There are 20 sharecropping households in Kudimdola, 26 in Birgaon and 32 in Bhourkhola from the above categories of farmers.

(b) Non-wage labouring landless farmers possessing cattle and ploughs sharecrop. In Kudimdola there are 3 sharecroppers, 5 in other two villages.

(c) Small traders sometimes are sharecroppers. They manage their cultivation through hired cattle and plough. They are engaged in this process mainly for foodstuff. There are 5 sharecroppers in Kudimdola, 8 in Birgaon and 4 in Bhourkhola

The selection of sharecroppers depend on the following terms and conditions :

(a) *A Salami* of Taka 50 to Taka 100 per *bigha* sometimes becomes a condition of getting land for sharecropping. This is primarily for two reasons, first the number of sharecropper in larger as compared with the amount of land available for sharecropping and Secondly, the introduction of HYV has excerbated the situation. As a result the landowners take the advantage of demanding *salami* from the tenants. It is revealed that the landowners do not refund this amount.

(b) Landowners give lands to those who occasionally (usually in peak seasons) work in their lands without wage. But in that case they get food from the landowners. This is also a kind of *salmai.*

(c) Peasants possessing agricullural implements such as, plough and cattle are generally preferred by the owners as sharecroppers. There is no legal framework out line by the government for sharecropping system. Nor is there any fixed principle to be followed in the sharing of crops. It depends on the conditions agreed to by both the parties but the conditions always being in favour of landowners because of the demand and supply mechanism of land for sharecropping.

Condition of sharecropping varies slightly by land. Following conditions are found to be in practice in the study villages.

Adha Adhi (50 : 50) : In this system the crop is equally divided between the sharecropper and the land owners but the paddy straws go to the owners if he provides seeds. All expenses relating to plough, mannures and labour, etc. are borne by the sharecropper. Again if the sharecropper provides seeds, he will get half the paddy straw, in addition to half the crops. This system of sharecropping is widely practised in the study villages and is applicable only to high lands. In case of less fertile land, owners bear some input cost.

Ejaradari : The *ejaradari* system is being followed by the absentee landowners as well as by non-cultivating owners. This system is entirely based on the returns from land in terms of rent. Landowners practising this are known as rentiers. In *ejaradari* system a landowner leases out his land to a leassee who is his tenant. The period for such kind of lease is restricted to only one agricultural season. Every year, at the end of agricultural season, usually in the months of December-Jaunary, there is a renewal of this contract.

The terms and conditions of lease vary according to the kind of land and the crops grown. The high rent is usually charged for the lease of high land used for the cultivation of jute and paddy and for the land used for cultivation of HYV paddy.

The tenants are generally the small and medium land owners but cultivators. In many cases, now-a-days, the small traders of the villages also take lease of land from the owners. When the choice for the selection of tenants is between the small owners cultivator and small trader, the land owners usually prefer the latter. The landowners prefer the latter because he has cash money and he will not fail to pay the rent in time. These small traders manage the agriculture work through hired labour. In the study villages there are 36 households who go for *ejaradari.*

Reciprocal arrangements : Reciprocal arrangement with other cultivating families is an another aspect of tenurial relationship in the study villages. In our study villages some reciprocal arrangement with other cultivating families are formed to carry on the agricultural work. This forms an integral part of production relations of these villages. The basis of this reciprocity depends on ties of kinship, neighbourliness and friendship. A man must be friendly and be ready to help others with his labour, time and resources if he wants others to reciprocate. The concept of obligational responsibility, one is frequently called upon to do things for others.

Bhalo Manushi : In this form of tenurial relationship a large landowner employs the labour of others at the time of ploughing, levelling and harvesting and in return he has to feed these people with delicious food. Persons involved in this network are generally the kinsmen of the landowners. Sometimes a landowner invites a *langal* (a farmer with plough and cattle) from his in-laws house for ploughing and levelling his land for which he has to treat them good food. This system of cultivation is practised in our study villages.

Mortgage : Mortgage is another form of transaction through which usufructuary rights to land change hands. A small farmer when in need of credit, either for consumption or capital he mortages his land usually to a large farmer. A newer trend is that professional and salaried people now sometimes have funds to lend out and they may not wish to deposit such funds in banks for their own reasons. An alternative is to lend locally in return for usufructuary mortgage of land. There are two types of mortgaging kat and khaikhalasi in our study villages.

Kat : This is mortgage of land, often informal, in which the borrower allows the lender to use his land until he is able to repay the principal, and no separate interest is computed. This is done when the size of loan is fairly high and the demand is heavy. The borrower risks losing his land,

but usually there is no transfer of documents. The agreement rests on the relationship between lender and borrower in the network and it works particularly, if they have known each other for a long time. Lending under *Kat* is well known all over our study villages.

Khaikhalasi : This is usufructuary mortgage of land which is also practised in our villages. In return for a cash loan, the borrower hands over some land to the lender to be used by him for a stipulated period of time, which is in effect principal and interest. After the lender (literarlly) eats from the land for the prescribed time, he gives back the land to the owner. The incidence of this form of mortgage is lesser as compared to the former in our study villages.

Summary and Conclusion :

In this study I have provided an outline of socio-economic structure in three Bangladesh Villages. This study has shown changes in various aspects of socio-economic life of our study villages. I have observed that villages are no longer isolated units from larger society.

As a result, the economy of these villages is changing and emerging socio-economic relationships are to be seen. For example, villagers by and large are no longer confined to the villages with respect to their occupation, values and ideas. The improved communication and rapid urbanization have created new opportunities of employment. This in turn made a wide spatial mobility of man and goods. The increased avenues of employment in the industries have put the villagers in a new situation, at the same time the impact of urbanization has increased the want of the villagers. These two factors have stimulated individual initiative and competitive attitude. There is not much room for initiative and economic competition, in a subsistence economy where there is little specialization or trade but competition is possible in a market economy. The change from a subsistence economy to cash economy is a factor in changing the socio-economic situations of the villages.

I have observed the emergence of market economy. For example, it is seen that the medium and large farmers are producing agricultural surplus. Also, influe of cash has an impact on the overall village life since a good number of people are engaged in non-traditional occupations such as service in urban areas, trade and business. It has been seen that these people are investing increasingly in lands. As a result, new relationships are emerging associated with land. In spite of these changes it is evident that family, kinship, factional politics, norms and values persist.

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OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT IN AN AGRICULTURALLY DEVELOPED AREA IN BANGLADESH*

BARKAT-E-KHUDA*

Introduction

Increasing population pressure on land and the limited absorptive capacity of agriculture even in its relatively developed form in many of the Asian countries[1] have forced many people out of agriculture. While some emigrate to urban areas in search of jobs, most remain in rural areas and take up non-farm activities. Governments in most of these countries are aware of the problem and are developing appropriate strategies and policies to create more off-farm employment opportunities. The Second Five Year Plan of Bangladesh (1980-85), for example, projected an increase of 200 per cent over the Plan period in handloom and 36 per cent in small scale and cottage industries, while projecting an increase of 16 per cent in agriculture (Government of Bangladesh, 1980).

Until recently, however, off-farm activities in agrarian societies received little attention. Most studies on rural employment in Bangladesh, for example, took into account time spent on agriculture activities alone without consideration to time spent on off-farm activities.[2] In the conventional two sector development models the rural off-farm sector is not explicitly considered.[3] It was not until about a decade or so ago that scholars such as Oshima, 1971, 1982 ; Kada, 1980, 1982 ; and Shand, 1983, began to stress the importance of off-farm activity as a separate and distinct sector for analytical purpose.[4] The fact is that off-farm employment has been increasing and is,

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[1] Jayasuriya and Shand (1983) presented evidence of a decline in the demand for labour in agriculture in several Asian countries.

[2] A critical review of such studies is contained in Khuda, 1981 and 1982.

[3] See, for example, Lewis, 1954 ; Fei and Ranis, 1964 ; Harris and Todaro, 1970 ; Mellor and Lele, 1972.

[4] Sociologists and economic anthropologists likewise have been interested in the interrelationships of agricultural and non-farm activities. See, for example, Srinivas, 1969 ; Mandlebaum, 1970 ; Haswell, 1967 ; Epstein, 1962 and 1973.

perhaps, vital for sustained rural development. However, there are still certain questions relating to off-farm employment to which answers have not been provided by most empirical studies to date. Some of these questions are :

(i) to what extent are farm households dependent on off-farm activity as a source of income and employement ?

(ii) what is the distribution of off-farm employment by age and sex of individual members of households ?

(iii) how is off-farm employment related to cultivable landholding ?

(iv) what is the seasonal variation in off-farm employment ?

(v) what is the incidence of off-farm employment amongst heads of households and other members of the household ?

(vi) how is off-farm employment distributed among various occupational groups ?, and

(vii) what is the effect of off-farm employment on income of rural families ?

This paper seeks to provide answers to some of the above questions on the basis of evidence from a rural area of Bangladesh. The paper is divided into four sections. Section 1 describes the methodology of data collection. Section 2 presents a brief description of the study area. Sections 3 and 4 respectively present the main findings and put forward some concluding remarks.

1. Data[5]

This paper is primarily based on time budget data collected in a Banglasesh village, Sreebollobpur, during the 1980-81 *Aman*[6] cropping season. The data were collected daily over an eighteen hour observation period from 6.00 a.m. to midnight for a period of twenty-four weeks. In selecting the time budget study all the households in the village under study were classified into four groups according to their net cultivable landholding. A total of 34 households were selected on the basis of stratified random sampling with proportional allocation according to the size of the strata. The data were collected for each person aged five years and above belonging to these house-

[5]A detailed discussion on the methodology of data collection is contained in Khuda, 1983.

[6]Of the three varieties of rice grown in Bangladesh, namely *Aus*, *Aman* and *Boro*, Aman is the most important. See Govt. of Bangladesh, 1979.

holds, although this paper is based on data collected for each person aged ten years and above. This paper is based on data for 74 males and 69 females, i.e. 143 persons in all and the total number of person-days observed was 24,024 : males-12,432 and females-11,592. In addition, the paper is based on income data collected once every month for five months for each of the 34 households. Thus, although the sample was small, the total number of observations was sufficiently large to give meaningful results.

The size of the sample was decided by a number of considerations. First, it was felt that a sample of the size selected would be adequate enough to reveal the relevant characteristics of the village, and, second, logistic of the village, and, second, logistic considerations were important, such as the amount of funds, the length of time and the number of interviewers available for the fieldwork.

The limitation of this study is that it is based on data for one cropping season only, although that of an important one. On the basis of our observations it is possible to say that the pattern of employment is similar during the *Boro* cropping season, but different during the *Aus* cropping season when a considerable amount of land is kept out of rice cultivation and people concentrate more on off-farm activities.

2. Study Area[7]

This study was carried out in a Bangladesh village, Sreebollobpur situated about four miles from Comilla town[8] and has relatively developed transportation and communication linkages.

The level of literacy is considerably higher than the national average. Likewise, a much higher proportion of the study population bas been to school : males 70 per cent and females about 50 per cent. Out of 227 households in the village 83 (i.e. 36.6% of all households) have electricity, while most Bangladeshi villages are yet to be electrified.

The village has an area of about one square mile and a population of 1466 persons. One-fifth of all households were landless, i.e. had no cultivable landholding and another over two-fifths operated landholdings of up to one acre. About 12 per cent of households operated cultivable areas in excess of two acres and accounted for 42.4 per cent of total cultivable land area. The average landholding per person was 0.14 acres.

[7]A more detailed background of the study area is contained in Khuda et al, 1980.

[8]Comilla town is not highly urbanized and industrialized. It is more a commercial centre. In 1974 Comilla town had a population of 86,446 persons and the percentage of urban population was only 4.24 compared to the national average of 9.13 (Govt. of Bangladesh, 1977).

It is a relatively developed village and is one of the first villages in which the Bangladesh Academy for Rural Development (BARD),[9] Kotbari, Comilla undertook its development programme in the early 1960s. The village has an agricultural cooperative society. A relatively high proportion of the cropped acreage—over 50 per cent—was under mechanized irrigation, although only about 15-18 per cent of cropped acreage in Bangladesh is under such a facility. Fertilizer application was quite extensive—80 per cent and 50 per cent of the cropped acreage under high-yielding varieties (HYV) and local varieties respectively. This compares favourably with the rest of the country. About one-half and one-fifth of the cropped acreage under HYV and local varieties respectively were sprayed by pesticides. The national figure is very much lower—less than 10 per cent of the total cropped acreage in the country was sprayed by pesticides in 1977-78 (Govt. of Bangladesh, 1979). The presence of irrigation water and other supplementary inputs have encouraged the adoption of HYV. About 75 per cent of all households adopted HYV and over 50 per cent of cropped acreage was under HYV. In contrast, only about 16 per cent of the total foodgrain area in the country was under HYV in late 1970s (Hossain, 1980). The presence of irrigation water and other inputs have, in addition, facilitated the cultivation of *Boro* crop during the dry months. Although *Boro* is most rewarding in terms of yield compared to the other two varieties of rice grown in Bangladesh, namely, *Aus* and *Aman*, its cultivation is limited to only about 10-12 per cent of cropped acreage in the country.

The crude labour force participation rate[10] was 44 : 51 per cent males and 35 per cent females.[11] The female rate was considerably higher and the male rate was slightly lower when compared to the national figures, the latter due to the fact that a higher proportion among the younger males in the study village were still studying and the former is largely due to considerable under-enumeration of female workers in the census.[12]

[9]The Academy was established by the government in 1959 as an experimental area where development programmes would be conducted on a pilot scale for possible adoption at the national level. These programmes included agricultural development (introduction of improved varieties of paddy and supplementary inputs such as irrigation, fertilizers, pesticides), rural works programmes, formation of cooperative societies, family planning programme and women's education and home development. This has resulted in mechanized irrigation and double cropping and, consequently, the demand for labour in agriculture has increased.

[10]Prior to the collection of time budget data a conventional type labour force survey was carried out in the village under study.

[11]If population aged ten years and above are considered, the labour force participation rate rises to 61 per cent and those of males and females respectively to 70 per cent and 50 per cent.

[12]See Khuda, 1979, for a discussion on the problems related to the measurement of female labour force in rural agrarian societies.

Over four-fifths of the total labour force in rural Bangladesh are primarily engaged in agriculture :[13] 86 per cent males and 81 per cent females (Khuda, 1982, Table 4.8). In contrast, less than two-thirds are primarily engaged[14] in agriculture in the village under study—51 per cent males and 85 per cent females. Next in importance is the formal service sector, employing 14 per cent of the total labour force in the village—about one-fifth of males and about 3 per cent of females. One in every thirteen persons was engaged in small business. The rest were weavers, rickshaw pullers, masons, carpenters, tailors, hawkers, etc. Thus, it can be said that although agriculture still remains the primary occupation of the large majority in the village under study, which, in itself is only to be expected, given the predominance of agriculture in the rural economy, yet a major occupational diversification has taken place over time (a decade or so), mostly affecting the males. This has, perhaps, been made possible as a result of schooling. On account of better economic condition as a result of the BARD's development programmes, farmers have been able to afford schooling for their children, particularly sons which enables them to acquire the necessary training and skills to be able to qualify for jobs in the formal services sector and other off-farm jobs.

3. Findings

Findings are presented first at the household level and second at the level of individual household members. Out of 34 households considered in this study 9 households, i.e. 26.5 per cent of all households were "non-farm households" and the rest were "farm households".[15] Out of 25 "farm households", 10 also depend on off-farm employment of at least one of their adult male members. Thus, a total of 19 out of 34 households, i.e. 55. 9

[13]In contrast, a recent World Bank study of 15 selected countries shows that for the few countries for which estimates included rural towns of up to 20,000 or 30,000, the proportions engaged primarily in non-farm work ranged between 30 and 40 per cent and among the selected countries with estimates excluding towns of more than a few thousand, the proportions ranged between 20 and 30 per cent (Anderson and Leiserson, 1980).

[14]Main or primary occupation is defined as one in which a person spent most of his/her time. This was based on the respondent's assessment. Table 7 shows that their assessment was not altogether correct, since those who had reported various non-agricultural pursuits as their main occupation in the labour force survey are found to have spent a considerable amount of time on farm activities, especially among those enumerated in the formal services sector.

[15]Households have been categorized into "farm households" and "non-farm households" according to the type of the primary occupation of adult males. Households with 50 per cent or more of their active adult males primarily employed in agriculture are categorized as "farm households" while those with 50 per cent or more of their active adult males primarily employed in off-farm activities as "non-farm households."

per cent were either wholly or partly dependent on off-farm activities[16] for the employment of their adult males.

A breakdown by cultivable landholding size groups shows that some households in all categories were either wholly or partly dependent on off-farm activities (Table 1). As expected, the heaviest dependence on off-farm employment was among the landless households : 71.4 per cent and 28.6 per cent respectively were wholly and partly dependent on it. Among the landed households the extent of dependence was lower, though still considerable.

As expected, "farm households" spent a higher proportion of their time on farm activities and a lower proportion on off-farm activities compared to "non-farm households" (Table 2). However, the important point that emerges from the Table is that both types of households were dependent on farm and off-farm activities, implying that typically, households were yet to achieve full specialization on one activity alone.

What was the incidence of off-farm employment at the level of individual members of household ? Bangladesh is predominantly agricultural with over 80 per cent of the population primarily employed in this sector. One would, therefore, assume that the bulk of productive time of individuals would be spent on agricultural activities. While this may, perhaps, be true for most of rural Bangladesh, this was not so in the area of study, especially among males, who spent a larger proportion of their working time to off-farm activities than agricultural activities, although the proportion of time spent on all farm activities was greater than that expended on off-farm activities. Males spent over two-fifths of their working time on off-farm activities and females over one-fifth and this was statistically significant at less than 1% level (Table 3). In a study of a traditional Bangladesh village[17] by this

[16]Off-farm activities refer to non-farm activities undertaken, whether taken away from the farm or undertaken in the home. However, it is difficult to draw a clear definition of off-farm activities, since often suchactivities cannot be clearly identified as to whether they are agricultural or non-agricultural activities. The problems associated in drawing a clear definition of off-farm activities are contained in Anderson and Leiserson, 1980 and Shand, 1983.

[17]The traditional village was not exposed to agricultural innovations and due to the absence of mechanized irrigation, *Boro* rice, the winter crop was not grown. Besides the traditional village is remote from urban contact situated about 16 miles from Comilla town in contrast to only 4 miles in the case of the study village. Unlike in the case of the study village which has easy and relatively cheap bus connections to town, transportation from the traditional village to Comilla town is difficult, time-consuming and expensive. One has to walk the first 4 miles to get to the nearest bus stop (only the relatively rich can afford *rickshaw*, which is expensive) and then take the bus to town, usually after waiting for about half an hour or so, since buses do not ply on time. Time spent in going to and returning from the town is, on average, 3.5 hours a day. Added to this is the cost of transportation which is usually beyond the reach of most people. Moreover, because of the distance and remoteness of the traditional village from the nearest town, there is a lack of information relating to job opportunities in town. A detailed discussion on the background of the traditional village is contained in Khuda, 1978.

author males and females respectively had spent one-quarter and one-fifth of their productive time on off-farm activities (Table 3.A). This suggests that off-farm activities made a greater contribution to the overall levels of employment in the study area, particularly among males. The scope of off-farm employment opportunities was greater in the study area, in addition to the fact that it was also relatively better developed agriculturally. The traditional village, on the other hand, was neither developed agriculturally nor was there much scope for off-farm employment opportunities, suggesting that in traditional and remote villages of Bangladesh people idle away a good deal of their working time owing to lack of adequate off-farm employment opportunities and remain poorer as a result.[18]

Among males, the proportion of time spent on off-farm activities did not vary much by age, while among females it was positively related to age and was statistically significant at 0% level. In fact, older women spent a higher proportion of their time on off-farm activities than males (Table 3).

Among males belonging to landed households the proportion of time spent on off-farm activities was inversely associated with the size of landholdings while the association was positive for farm activities. Among females, however, the proportion of time spent on off-farm activties was positively associated with the size of cultivable landholding. The finding was statistically significant at less than 10% level. This is because women belonging to the relatively richer households prefer off-farm activities to agricultural activities and also because the richer households employ outside famale labour to carry out some of the post-harvest operations, thereby freeing their female members to undertake more off-farm activities. Among the landless, time spent on off-farm activities was greater than that spent on agricultural activities,[19] although lower than that spent on all farm activities. This was true of both males and females, although much more pronounced among females (Table 4).

The incidence of off-farm activities was greater during the agricultural slack season, when the demand for labour on farms is relatively lower. The finding was statistically significant at 0% level. In other words, off-farm activities help to even out labour utilization over the year. Males spent one-half of their working time on off-farm activities during the slack season

[18]Further, data on the traditional village will become available to the author during 1984, which will allow a more comprehensive comparison with the modern village under study, and will enable the testing of a number of hypotheses concerning differences in off-farm employment opportunities between these villages.

[19]A study of the determinants of off-farm labour supply of paddy farmers in Kemubu, Malaysia shows that non-ownership of land is the single most important factor enhances the probability that a household head will work off-farm (Chew and Shand, 1983).

and two-fifths during the busy season, while females spent three-tenths of their time on off-farm activities during the slack season and under one-fifth during the busy season (Table 5). Thus, the seasonal nature of agricultural activities also introduces the element of seasonality in respect of off-farm activities.

Involvement in off-farm activities was more prevalent among heads of households, followed by sons and it was lowest among daughters. It was not high for servants but they were employed to undertake farm activities. The relationship was statistically significant at 0% level (Table 6). That daughters spent about two-fifths of their time on other farm-associated activities which are generally considered less productive, indicates a greater scope for involving them in off-farm activities, provided greater off-farm employment opportunities are created. This is also true of most others, particularly the wives of heads of households.

Table 7 shows the proportion of time spent on off-farm activities by main occupation[20] and sex. The extent of off-farm employment was highest among males engaged in the informal service sector followed by those engaged in small business and the weavers and it was lowest among the agriculturists. Among females it was highest among the weavers and lowest among those primarily employed in agriculture. The finding was statistically significant at 0% level. However, the important point that arises from the Table is that most individuals, as is common with a large number of households, were involved in off-farm activities, irrespective of their main occupation. This is due to the fact that agriculture cannot provide adequate employment opportunities even to those primarily engaged in it. Likewise, everyone was engaged in agicrulture. This shows that rural people cannot find enough employment opportunities in one sector and that they are employed in both farm and off-farm activities.

Implications for Income Levels : As expected, off-farm employment was the major source of income among "non-farm households", accounting for over one-half of their total family income. The reverse was true of "farm households" which derived over three-fifths of their total family income from employment on own farm and their dependence on off-farm employment as a source of income was roughly one-half that among "non-farm households" (Table 8).

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[20]Besides those with agriculture as their main occupation, there were ten persons employed in the formal services sector. They were employed in various public and private organisations and were accountants, clerks, typists, family planning workers, research assistants and office messengers (peon). Five persons were employed in the informal services sector. They were rickshaw pullers, carpenters and those working in tea stalls and other shops located in the village market and in Comilla town. Six persons were involved in petty business and three were weavers.

Components of household income by size of landholding shows that off-farm employment was the major source of income among landless households. Over one-half of their total family income came from off-farm employment. It was also an important source of income among landed households, which derived roughly one-third of their total family income from this source. Among landed households the contribution of off-farm employment to total family income declines with an increase in the size of landholding and then rises as landholding exceeds two acres[21] (Table 9). The evidence suggests that off-farm employment contributes to a more equitable distribution of income,[22] since in the absence of such employment opportunities that landless and near landless households would certainly have been much worse off relative to the relatively richer households.

4. Conclusions

This paper has assessed the extent and importance of off-farm activities in a relatively developed rural area of Bangladesh with broad comparisons from a traditional Bangladesh village from the viewpoint of their contribution to employment and income. Off-farm activities were a primary source of employment and earnings for over one-quarter of all households and for approximately one-third of the labour force in the area under study. Added to this are those for whom off-farm activities were a secondary source of employment and income. Interestingly enough, among males a higher proportion of their time was spent on off-farm activities than agricultural activities and among females it accounted for over one-fifth of their total working time. Both males and females belonging to the landless households spent a greater proportion of their working time on off-farm activities than agricultural activities. Off-farm activities were more prevalent during the agricultural slack season, when the demand for labour on farm is relatively lower. This has the effect of evening out labour utilisation over the year, since agricultural activities are seasonal in nature. Off-farm activities were a major source of income for rural households, suggesting perhaps, that off-farm employment can contribute to a more equitable income distribution.

[21]There is a general evidence of an inverse relationship between size of household and off-farm income. See for example, Ho, 1983. Anderson and Leiserson, 1980 ; Oshima, 1982 ; Shand, 1983.

[22]However, in an area where off-farm employment is the dominant source of income of most households as in Kemubu, Malaysia, this may actually serve to worsen the already inequitable distribution of income (Shand and Chew, 1983). Hence, it may be difficult to draw any firm conclusion on the distributional impact of off-farm income, although it can be stated without doubt that off-farm income contributes to the overall welfare of most rural households.

For a country like Bangladesh with acute un-and under-employment, increased efforts should be made to create more off-farm employment opportunities. Such opportunities should be created as far as possible in the rural areas themselves to facilitate greater participation among the villagers. In addition, efforts should be made to improve communication with urban areas and make it less expensive and less time-consuming so that villagers can go to nearby towns in search of such jobs. Such opportunities would not only increase the volume of employment for those primarily engaged in non-agricultural occupations but also help to reduce the extent of seasonal unemployment for those primarily engaged in agriculture. Besides, creation of off-farm employment opportunities can check the increasing flow of rural population into urban settlements as well as ensure a more balanced development, particularly in the rural areas. The East Asian experience suggests that inter-related development of agricultural and non-agricultural industries largely within the rural sector is feasible. This may very well be a sound development strategy for many of the developing countries at least at the early stages of development.

There is a greater scope of increasing the extent of involvement in off-farm activities in the study area. We have seen that "other farm-associated activities" which are generally considered less productive account for about 18 per cent and 29 per cent respectively of male and female working time. It is possible to bring about a reduction in time spent on such activities and redirect such time to off-farm activities, given an expansion of off-farm employment opportunities.

Finally, there is a need for more in-depth microlevel studies in Bangladesh and other Asian countries to provide more information on some of the questions raised in this paper. The knowledge gained by such studies should, however, be supplemented by several large scale representative surveys to throw more light on the subject, which is still lacking to a considerable extent in at least some of the Asian countries, particularly Bangladesh. In other words, there is a need for both micro and macro level studies to be able to get a more complete and comprehensive picture on the subject.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS WHOLLY OR PARTLY DEPENDENT ON OFF-FARM EMPLOYMENT BY LANDHOLDING

Cultivable Landholding (in acres)	Dependence		
	Wholly	Partly	Wholly/ partly
1. Landless (N=7)	71.4	28.6	100.0
2. 0.01-1.0 (N=16)	18.8	18.8	37.6
3. 1.01-2.0 (N=7)	0	57.1	57.1
4. 2.01+(N=4)	25.0	25.0	50.0
ALL (N=34)	26.5	29.4	55.9

TABLE 2
TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD

	Farm Household	Non-farm Household	Total
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm activities as % of total hours worked.	57.7	48.6	55.6
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	40.4	29.7	37.9
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	17.3	18.9	17.7
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	42.3	51.4	44.4
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	105.1	86.0	100.1
Number of Households	25	9	34
Average number of adult males per household	2.3	1.8	2.2
Average Number of Hours Worked	45.7	47.8	46.0

TABLE 3

TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY AGE AND SEX

	Male				Female			
	10-14	15-54	55+	All males, 10 yrs+	10-14	15-54	55+	All 10 yrs+
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	60.9	53.8	60.0	55.6	83.2	82.5	47.8	77.3
1.1. Agricultural activities as % of total hours worked	28.8	36.4	51.0	37.9	39.3	52.0	39.6	48.6
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	32.1	17.4	9.0	17.7	43.9	30.5	8.2	28.7
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	39.1	46.2	40.0	44.4	16.8	17.5	52.2	22.7
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	22.9	52.9	49.8	46.0	7.9	14.1	24.2	13.7
Number of Persons	16	47	11	74	14	49	6	69
Person-days	2688	7896	1848	12432	2352	8232	1008	11592

TABLE 3A

TIME SPENT ON VARIOUS ACTIVITIES AS PER CENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY SEX IN A TRADITIONAL BANGLADESH VILLAGE, BARKAIT

	Male	Female	Both Sexes
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	74.0	79.9	77.0
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	55.1	59.0	57.1
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	18.9	20.9	19.9
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	26.0	20.1	23.0
Average number of hours worked weekly	34.8	16.6	25.9
Number of persons	59	61	120
person-days	12,390	12,810	25,200

TABLE 4

TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY CULTIVABLE LANDHOLDING AND SEX

	Male				Female			
	Land-less	0.01-1.0 acre	1.01-2.0 acres	2.0+	Land less	0.01-1.0 acre	1.0.-2.0 acres	2.0+
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	57.5	51.2	57.2	63.2	60.4	84.9	81.6	67.4
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	37.8	33.7	40.5	45.5	25.8	54.0	51.7	55.3
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	19.7	17.5	16.7	17.7	34.6	30.9	29.9	12.1
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	42.5	48.8	42.8	36.8	39.6	15.1	18.4	32.6
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	38.4	55.8	39.2	46.4	9.1	13.8	16.4	18.7
Number of Persons	13	26	24	11	18	27	17	7
Person-days	2184	4368	4032	1848	3024	4536	2856	1176

TABLE 5

TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY AGRICULTURAL SEASON AND SEX

	Male			Female		
	Busy[1]	Slack[2]	Total[3]	Busy	Slack	Total
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	60.3	48.2	55.6	81.2	69.7	77.3
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	44.3	27.9	38.0	55.6	35.3	48.7
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	16.0	20.3	17.6	25.6	34.4	28.6
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	39.7	51.8	44.4	18.8	30.3	22.7
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	48.4	42.6	46.0	15.5	11.2	13.7
Number of Persons	74	74	74	69	69	69
Person-days	7252	5180	12432	6762	4830	11592

1. Busy season refers to 14 weeks of observation, or 98 days.
2. Slack season refers to 10 weeks of observation, or 70 days.
3. Total period refers to the entire period of observation, i.e. 24 weeks or or 168 days.

TABLE 6

TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY RELATIONSHIP TO HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD

	Head of House-hold	Spouse	Son	Daughter	Parent	Servant
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	53.5	76.5	56.2	85.5	69.2	98.0
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	38.2	46.4	33.1	47.1	54.8	55.4
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	15.3	30.1	23.1	38.4	14.4	42.6
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	46.5	23.5	43.8	14.5	30.8	2.0
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	50.5	15.2	38.1	7.1	24.3	41.3
Number of Persons	41	30	29	21	20	2
Person-days	6888	5040	4872	3528	3360	336

TABLE 7

TIME SPENT ON FARM AND OFF-FARM ACTIVITIES AS PERCENT OF TOTAL HOURS WORKED BY MAIN OCCUPATION AND SEX

	Agricul-ture	Service (formal)	Busi-ness	Service (Infor-mal)	Weav-ing	Depen-dants[1]	Agricul-ture	Weav-ing	Depen-dants
TOTAL HOURS WORKED	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
1. Farm Activities as % of total hours worked	63.8	51.4	40.5	34.6	41.7	60.0	84.5	45.6	78.0
1.1. Agricultural Activities as % of total hours worked	48.2	30.8	29.5	29.2	20.6	26.3	50.1	18.9	54.8
1.2. Other farm associated activities as % of total hours worked	15.6	20.6	11.0	5.4	21.1	33.7	34.4	26.7	23.2
2. Off-farm activities as % of total hours worked	36.2	48.6	59.5	65.4	58.3	40.0	15.5	54.4	22.0
Average Number of Hours Worked Weekly	54.8	51.5	61.8	55.9	47.0	22.6	15.8	26.6	10.6
Number of Persons	30	10	6	5	3	20	27	4	38
Person-days	5040	1680	1008	840	504	3360	4536	672	6348

Note : 1. These persons were not reported "working" in the conventional type labour force survey carried out in the study village, prior to the collection of time budget data. Hence, no information on their occupational status was obtained.

TABLE 8

COMPONENTS OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD (percentage distribution)

Type of Household	Own farm	Others' farm	Off-farm	Remittances received	Total	Number of Households	Total period observed (in months)
1. Farm Household	64.9	2.2	29.3	3.6	100.0	25	125
2. Non-farm Household	20.7	22.4	56.9	0	100.0	9	45
ALL	50.5	9.7	38.3	1.5	100.0	34	170

TABLE 9

COMPONENTS OF HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY SIZE OF CULTIVABLE LANDHOLDING

Size of Landholding (in acres)	Own farm	Others' farm	Off-farm	Remittances received	Total	Number of house-holds	Total period observed (in months)
1. Landless	3.3	41.2	55.1	0.4	100.0	7	35
2. 0.01-1.0	59.2	4.5	34.7	1.61	00.0	16	80
3. 1.01-2.0	65.8	–	31.7	2.5	100.0	7	35
4. 2.01+	61.8	–	37.0	1.2	100.0	4	20
ALL	50.5	9.7	38.3	1.5	100.0	34	170

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REVIEW ARTICLE

RESEARCHES WITH MODULES : A REVIEW

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Introduction

Module** is a recent innovation of educational technology. The development of and research with modules in education began at the beginning of this decade around the year 1972. Most of the researches with modules were carried out in America and the topics of the modules developed there covered variety of subject areas studied at the elementary to university level. But in the United States the development of and the experimentation with most of the modules dealt with teaching-learning system in relation to teacher education programme. Work with modules has been started in different Asian countries, namely, India, Philippines, Nepal, Thailand and Pakistan. In order to find the effectiveness of the modules different lines of efforts have been attempted. This has been done either by comparing the achievement of students through modules with that of conventional method or by measuring the effectiveness of modules using Criterion-referenced measures. In this chapter American and Asian experiences with modules have been treated under separate headings.

Work done in the United States of America

Research with modules gained its momentum in America and almost all the initial efforts in this field have been made by the American researchers. A lot of work has been done there during the present decade and the research with modules is flourishing there day by day. The various diversified studies carried out so far in America may be put under two broad headings :

(i) Comparison studies, and (ii) Others studies.

Comparison Studies

At the initial stage of research with modular way of teaching and learning, comparison experiment had been the most popular one. In the beginning, efforts have been made by the research workers to undertake such studies in order to establish the effectiveness of modules as an instructional technique. Many of the studies have compared modular learning with what is usually referred to as 'conventional' or 'traditional' method of teaching.

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** According to APEID "A module is a set of Learning Opporiunities organised around a well defined topic which contains the elements of instruction, specific objectives, teaching/learning activities and evaluation using criterion-referenced measure".

In what follows an attempt has been made to highlight some of the significant features of such comparison studies.

Merwin (1972) conducted an experiment with a view to finding out the effectiveness of self-instructional modules in preparing Secondary School Social Studies teacher-trainee. He found significant differences between the control group learning through conventional method and the experimental group learning through self-instructional module on the acquisition of knowledge and skills essential in planning, questioning and testing for higher cognitive process, favouring the experimental group. The experimental group found the module to be an enjoyable and effective device for developing understandings and skills in planning, questioning and teasting.

Purinton (1973) and Goins (1974) investigated the efficacy of modularised approach to human relation skill training. Both the investigators found that the experimental group made higher gains in their ability to use specific human relation skill than the control group. The studies reported that both the experimental groups evaluated the modules as favourable.

Dale (1973) made a comparative study of teaching psychology through learning modules and the traditional lecture-discussion method and found no significant difference in achievement between the experimental and the control groups, but the students subjectively preferred the modular approach to traditional method. Guley (1975) also reported the similar results.

In case of introductory college poetry introduction, Osseroff (1972) found traditional method better than the modular way of learning.

Dishner (1973) conducted an experiment to investigate the effectiveness of the modules by comparing students who were taught by proficiency modules with those students who were taught by traditional approach such as class lecturers, group discussion and text assignment. There were fiftyseven students in the two control groups and sixty students in the two experimental groups. It was found that in the four of the five units and in the total test the students taught by the proficiency module performed significantly better than the students taught by the conventional method.

Sasscer (1973), Andersen (1975) and Amien (1978) made comparative studies of modular and traditional methods for teaching biological science. The findings of the study of Andersen (1975) revealed that there was significant difference in achievement between the experimental and the control groups, with the experimental group scoring higher. Pultorak (1973) also reported that students preferred the modules to a traditional biology laboratory. Results of Sasscer's study showed significant differences in mean achievement of the experimental and the control groups for some modules and no significant difference in mean achievement for some other modules. Amien's study

Other Studies

The studies which have used the three evaluation techniques such as judgement of the experts, pilot study and final tryout, with some criterion refereńced measure separately or in combination, have been put under this heading.

In their study Wilkerson (1973), Stephens (1973), Whatley (1973), Hartswick (1974), Carmigani (1973), Stewart (1974) and Pool (1978) have placed more emphasis on developmental aspects of the modules. All but Hartswick and Stewart have followed five phases for the development and validation of the module. These five stages were (i) planning phases ; in which exploratory reading and research into the areas of the instructional system were attempted ; (ii) drafting phase, in which a draft of the content and objectives of the module were prepared ; (iii) revision phase, in which the draft module was revised based on the reactions of the experts ; (iv) an intitial tryout or pilot study, in which the module was tried out informally with a very small sample in order to modify it further, (v) the formal tryout or experimental validation phase, in which the effectiveness of the module was found out experimentally. Wilkerson (1973) found significant change in attitude of all participants who were learning through the module 'Changing Students' Attitude'. Stephens (1973) reported that the modules in the content areas of English, Mathematics, Social Studies and Science appeared to be effective for increasing knowledge and in promoting more positive attitude towards the content area. He also reported that all students achieved 90% proficiency test criterion. From the findings of his study Whatley (1973) reported that instructional modules can be developed and used more effectively to train pre-service elementary teachers to maintain living organism in the classroom. Based on the pilot study Hartswick reported that the participant responded favourably to involvement in the pilot study and to the potentialities of the competency programme. Carmigani (1973) concluded that the learning activity modules are effective in enabling students to learn cognitive and psychomotor driving skills. Stewart (1974), based on the ratings of a panel of judges also concluded that the modules were suitable for inclusion as supplementary materials in supervising courses in home economics education. Pool (1978) reported that nineteen of the twenty two teachers who were learning through modules stated that they had not met all of the twenty two objectives, but most of the participants reported having met the majority of them.

Coulter (1978) developed six instructional modules for teachers which could be adopted for use in most methods of teaching secondary school mathematics courses. General direction for instructional modules were also written.

Khan (1973) developed and field tested a module which was designed to instruct student-teacher in respect of critical thinking and the teacher behaviour which promote critical thinking. Findings of the study indicated repertoires of behaviour and similarities in the dominant process, substance, and concurrent critical thinking, teaching behaviour of most participants after completion of the module.

Modularized instruction is effective in teaching reading skill. This was found by Williams (1973). Koilockker (1973) studied the effectivencss of the module entitled 'Using Personal Knowledge of Students' to modify Middle School Teacher's behaviour. The finding of the study, indicated that the teachers acquired the skills of the modules and used these skills in their classrooms and teacher's use of the skill had an effect on the learning of the students.

Harris (1974) made an evaluative study involving development and field testing of a values-clarification module. It was found that all treatment groups responded with a positive attitude toward values-clarification but the groups did not differ significantly from each other with respect to (i) their values-clarification module or concepts, (ii) modularized instruction and values-clarification.

Kryspin (1974) reported that self-instructional module can be used as an effective teaching-learning device in educational psychology course. Wagnon (1974) evaluated the effectiveness of Microunit-Teaching Modules in business education. Based on t-test at 0.05 level of significance the investgator concluded that the Microunit-Teaching Modules are successful vehicles for student teachers to practise strategies of teaching. Markle (1974) and Bower (1974) evaluated the effectiveness of instructional module developed for elementary teachers. The former tried to determine the effect of question location and question level from an activity centred module and the latter made an effort to find the effectiveness of modules to use questioning skills. Markle (1974) concluded that instuctional questions within activity centred modules can improve immediate recall and use of information froo the module. Bower (1974) reported that the teacher who experienced the module asked significantly divergent, probing and redirecting questions on post-assessment.

Alia (1975) field tested a module 'Orientation to Teaching and to examine its Influence Upon Participants.' The investigator found that the gains on seven of the nine objectives were significant at 0.05 level. Students' responses on a questionnaire indicated satisfaction with the module and its component parts. From his study with self-instructional teacher-training module, Windell (1975) concluded that modules are able to produce reliable changes in trainees' knowledge and skill in the use of techniques for determining the reading level of the exceptional children. Chaiken and Tanner (1975) developed and

field tested a series of teacher training modules in order to find out to what extent the module meets its competency-based and humanistic performance requirement. Results of the study indicated that it is possible to design modules which are both competency-based and humanistic if a systematic developmental process employing prescribed requirement (criteria) are used to insure an equal emphasis on competency development and humanism. Cheyney (1975) found that modules were successful for student attainment of instructional objectives.

Kelvin (1975) piloted modular materials to be used in the inservice training of the principals. Findings of the study indicated that out of thirty six participants eighteen participants reached mastery level (80% correct) and thirteen scored below mastery level on the first module. Eight participants reached mastery level and 18 scored below mastery level on the second module. Eleven of the participants reached mastery level of the third module. But in case of modules for inservice training of secondary level teachers, Bennet (1976) reported that all subjects attained proficiency (80%+) or mastery (90%+) level of competency of each module. The modules were judged by the students as being highly successful in achievement of their purposes.

Kronowitz (1976) conducted an experimental study to compare individualized and group instructions in the modular mode. Findings of the study indicated that the mean gain score on all but the two objectives and on the total test were significantly higher in the group instructed section. Both the groups showed very positive reaction towards module.

Levene (1977) conducted an investigation to study the effectiveness of instructional modules for teaching Basic Media Production Teachniques to teachers and students. Overall reaction indicated that the modules are useful but they should be subjected to further development and field testing.

For the purpose of teaching selected aspect of Piagetian theory so as to facilitate the ability of the teacher to diagnose the thinking of the young child, Dorsey (1977) developed and evaluated the effectiveness of modules for early childhood education. The findings of the study indicated that modules can be developed to teach selected aspect of Piagetian theory so that the teacher might have this knowledge to diagnose the thinking of children. The study also reported that faculty in early childhood education recacted favourably to the modules both in design and intended use.

Experience in Asian Countries

It is being increasingly accepted that modular instructional materials provided a promising solution to many of the problems faced by educationists and educational administrators. The idea has inspired the educationists of the Asian countries and led them to develop instructional module which,

they believe, can provide effective learning and can solve many of the instructional problems faced by them to provide mass education to a great number of illiterate people in this region. Work has been started and experimentation is being carried out with modular form of instruction in different education departments, teacher training colleges, T.T.T.I's and in different departments of education in the universities in order to improve their instructional system (APEID Report, 1978). The work with modules at present are solely devoted to development, and doctoral study and other experimentation with module in large scale are yet to be started. The following is a brief account of instructional modules developed and used in different fields of education in the Asian countries.

In India

A very small number of modules has so far been developed in India. The Centre of Advanced Study in Education, M.S. University of Baroda, has developed some instructional modules but most of them are programmed learning type. Jayalakxmi (1977) is trying to develop self-contained and self-instructional modules for teaching a course on educational Psychology to B.Ed. students in a teachers' College at Bangalore. Adinarayana (1975) has attempted to evolve a modular strategy for developing skills of scientific investigation of standard VIII students in secondary schools in Tamilnadu. In India, experts in different teacher training colleges, NCERT, T.T.T.I's and different departments of education in the universities are making various efforts to develop modules which can be used for effective teaching and learning. But very few attempts have been made so far to validate the modules experimentally in order to find their effectiveness.

Other Asian Countries

In Indonesia, with the initiation of Development School Project in 1975, self-instructional module entered the instructional field. Here modules have been developed in mathematics, basic and social sciences, English and Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian mother tongue). These modules are short and they provide students with maximum freedom to study independently. They have specific entry condition and exist objectives which can be modified or replaced at will.

To solve various problems such as paucity of instructional materials, shortage of competent teachers and inadequate instruction in Industrial Arts Education course for school, Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI) in 1973, came forward with the concept for modular learning. For the implementation of a new system named Individually Assessed Learning Model in Industrial Arts Education, KEDI has prepared a module entitled 'Developing Employable skills' to train the teachers involved.

In Nepal modules have been developed on selected teaching competencies and used on an experimental basis. There, the teacher educators are also thinking to use self-learning modules for preparing teachers for education in rural development.

In Pakistan six experimental modules for elementary school teachers on topics related to rural transformation were produced in a workshop of module development in 1977. The national government has shown keen interest in module development and use of modules in Integrated Rural Development Project.

Self instructional module started to gain popularity in Philippines since 1972 through the public schools. In 1975 the nationwide adoption of the In-School Off-School Approach to the delivery of mass education also necessitated the use of self-learning modules in the instructional system. The Department of Education and Culture organized workshops for module writers for the public school system.

Modular instruction has been implemented also in primary school in solo (Manila, Philippines) under the IMPACT (Instructional Management by Parent, Community and Teacher) Project. The main objective of the project IMPACT was to determine the most economical way of organizing instructional resources into a meaningful learning system without any sacrifice of the quality of learning. The purpose of the study was also to evaluate pupils achievement of IMPACT schools learning through instructional modules. The achievement of IMPACT pupils were compared with the achievement of Non-IMPACT pupils in the subject areas of Language. Arts, Science, Mathematics, Social studies and Work Education/Home Economics. The teacher pupil ratio in the IMPACT Project was 1 : 200. Analysis of data revealed significant findings. Some of the conclusions drawn from the findings were as follows : (INNOTECII Report, February-March, 1978) :

1. Pupils taught through IMPACT system achieve as well as, in some cases, better than pupils taught through the conventional system.
2. IMPACT pupils were highly motivated than the Non-IMPACT pupils as perceived by teachers of these pupils.
3. There is a negligible relationship between growth/gains in achievement and score in a non-verbal mental ability tests.
4. The higher the initial score in achievement test, the smaller the gains in the achievement i.e. there is an inverse relationship between growth/gains in achievement as measured by achievement tests and initial scores in these tests.

In Thailand though thinking about module dates back to 1973 but systematic approach to develop modules was made in 1977, when the new

curriculum of the teacher training council was introduced. Plans were prepared by the Teacher Training Department of the Ministry of Education, Bangkok, Thailand, to develop six modules focussing on rural community development.

Conclusion

From the review of related literature, it is evident that almost all the researches so far carried out have concluded that the instructional module have been found to be superior in many ways to conventional or traditional method. The module developed to teach variety of subjects were found to be more effective and enjoyable than the tracitional approach. But it is also clear from the literature reveiwed that all the researches have compared the modular approach with a very loosely defined conventional method. Besides in America modules have been developed on individual topics. These modules were mostly for the teacher education programme. Only four of them were developed for teaching biology and one of them for teaching consumer mathematics. Most of the modules have not been the part of regular classroom instruction and these modules have very limited scope for being used in the actual classroom work as they do not cover the full course. With a very exception here and there, the Asian countries in general uptil now, have not responded encouragingly to the researches with modular way of learning.

In some Asian countries like India, Indonesia, Korea, Nepal, Pakistan, Thailand, Philippines, and Bangladesh, attempts have been made to develop modules but uptil now, with the exception in Philippines, a very negligible effort has been made to validate the modules experimentally.

One of the limitations of the studies reviewed lies in the very purpose with which they have been conducted. Most of the studies have had the purpose of wider generalization rather than limited purpose of evaluating that particular instructional module.

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SHORT COMMUNICATION

SOME LONGTERM SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN RURAL BANGLADESH

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In the rural areas of Bangladesh, increased labour and land productivity is coming through irrigation, H.Y.V. and improved farming practices for the last 20 years. This was also the stated objective of planning by the government from the Pakistan days. There is evidence at the macro-level that farm production has increased over the years and that increased population is keeping the per-capita income somewhat stagnant. But little is known about how the increased output per-acre is influencing the society in the matters of income distribution, the quality of human resources and use of the surplus generated by increased productivity of land and labour. Another interesting guestion is, who are getting richer in the rural society, who are getting poorer and by what process is this happening. To study this at the micro-level, it would be ideal, if we could compare the pictures of the same area over two sufficiently distant points of time, in respect of the household economy. Although the present picture can be obtained through surveys, comparable data of a previous time collected with uniform concepts and statistical methods is very rare. The subject of the present study is an attempt to make a comparison of this kind in a Union in Kushtia district of Bangladesh, where irrigation water came first in 1964 and an economic survey was done in the Union of Ujangram in 1966-67. The results of that survey were published in a book called Irrigation in a Monsoon Land, by the Bureau of Economic Research, Dhaka University, (1968). The author of that survey had conducted another survey in 1983-84, in the same Union, following almost the same statistical methods for a limited number of socio-economic characteristics. This paper discusses some results of comparison of 1966-67 data with that of 1983-84.** The difference in time is about 17 years, which is nearly a generation.

Tables 1 to 6 show some interesting changes that have taken place in the economy of the Union, in the course of the last one generation. Some trends of long-range economic and social transformation are clear from this comparison, which may be stated briefly as follows :

Table I shows that the family size is a very stable variable and has changed little, although the change in the dispersion of the distribution (S.D.)

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** This paper is based on the more detailed report, to be published on the same subject, later on. The study was done under the joint auspices of the University of Dhaka and the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, during 1983-84.

has increased i.e., there are now more of too small and too large families. Literacy of the family has increased slightly on the average, but an important change is visible here (Vide Table 2). The proportions of completely illiterate and more intensely literate families are both on the increase. As the households have more than doubled in number in the Union, the society is having polarization at the two extreme ends.

Table I also shows how over time, in spite of increased population in this area of improved agriculture, the annual value of per acre output of the farm has increased. At constant price, the output has nearly doubled in 17 years. This has come about as a result of irrigation water (supplied as yet free), HYV seeds of rice and wheat, free extension work by the government organised Chashi Clubs and increased supply of rural credit. The farm size per family is almost half of what it was previously. But the more interesting phenomenon is that the proportion of farmers with little or no land has increased (Vide Table 3). Similarly, very large farms are also going away. When land became more productive with better techinques, capital and skill, people are going for higher investment in farming rather than in land alone. There is now less profit in share-cropping, so share-cropping has decreased in the Union. High land price has encouraged some to sell out land to others, who are a better farmers. So, the proportion of landless has increased. As the scope of land purchase is limited, money is going into investment in improved farming and rural trade. A part of this capital has been provided by increased supply of credit. But the landless are not getting or using much of this credit. Only a few farmers are using most of the credit although the average indebtedness has increased elevenfold. The structure of credit source has undergone a metamorphosis. (Vide Table 4). Previously credit came mostly from private sources, now it is mostly from the government and institutional sources. Table 5 shows the distribution of per-acre output of farms. Many have increased their output much more in real terms, but the percentage of families with 'nil output' has now increased considerably. Here also the growing polarization in the society is evident. Some are increasing their yield from land, so they are becoming richer, others are becoming landless, and are becoming farm-labourers, who can not feed their families from the wages, because in the rural society, a landless cannot optimally use the family labour due to social constraints.

Twenty case persons were studied in the Union, who in the last 20 years became richer and poorer (ten of each category) respectively. Those who became richer, generally saw the opportunity of better farming with the coming of Irrigation. They worked hard, produced more and bought more land with it. Once they became well-to-do, increased credit also came to them. Those who became poorer generally began to sell out farm land when irriga-

tion increased land price in the area. Once they sold out their land, they could neither earn enough as labourers, nor could they go away from the Union. Table 6 shows the opinions of these case persons. Whether richer or poorer in the last one generation, they all believe that God (fate) plays a vital role in changing man's economic condition. In developed countries most people think that fate or luck has a minor role in this. Actually however, the case studies show that they themselves are responsible for their success or otherwise.

TABLE-1

Comparison of some averages and the standard deviations of characteristics of farm households in Ujangram, in 1966-67 and 1983-84

Variables	Estimate of 1966-67		Estimate of 1983-84	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
1. Family size (number)	7.78	3.32	7.38	4.56
2. Literate members of the family as percentage of total.	15.24	15.88	16.82	24.84
3. Land in possession (in acres per family)	3.69	7.54	1.71	2.24
4. Outstanding indebtedness in Taka per family.	400.04	823.77	4600.00	6794
5. Annual value of farm output per acre (at 1966-67 prices, in taka)	466.86	572.63	783.06	1436
6. Average amount of land given out to others on share-cropping (acres)	0.63	–	0.10	0.36
7. Average amount of land taken on share-cropping from others (acres)	0.60	–	0.16	0.47

Note : S.D. on share-cropping was not available for 1966-67.

TABLE-2

Families in Ujangram in 1966-67 and in 1983-84 according to the proportion of literate members.

Percentage of literate members in a family	Frequency as percentage	
	1966-67	1983-84
Nil	50.93	55.14
1–10	5.56	5.61
11–20	19.44	9.35
21–30	10.18	5.61
31–40	4.63	7.47
41–50	4.63	5.61
51–60	1.85	0.93
61–70	0.93	2.80
71–80	1.85	5.61
81–90	0.00	1.87
Above 90	0.00	0.00
Total :	100.00	100.00
Average :	15.24	16.82

Note : 1. 1966-67 figures from Reference 7, p. 76.

2. Averages are based on ungrouped data.

TABLE-3

Families in Ujangram in 1966-67 and in 1983-84 according to total size of land holding in possession of the family.

Total holding in possession of the family (in acres)	Frequency as Percentage	
	1966-67	1983-84
Nil	0.93	3.74
0.1- 1.0	27.78	54.21
1.1- 2.0	10.18	10.28
2.1- 3.0	15.74	10.28
3.1- 4.0	9.26	10.28
4.1- 5.0	11.11	2.81
5.1- 6.0	10.18	0.93
6.1- 7.0	3.70	2.81
7.1- 8.0	4.63	1.87
8.1- 9.0	0.93	0.93
9.1-10.0	1.85	0.93
10.1-11.0	0.00	0.93
11.1-12.0	0.93	0.00
Above 12.0	2.78	0.00
Total :	100.00	100.00
Average (acres)	3.69	1.71

Notes : 1. 1966-67 figures from Reference No. 7, page 77.
2. Averages are based on ungrouped data.

TABLE-4

Relative importance of sources of outstanding loans of households from different sources in Ujangram in 1966-67 and 1983-84.

Sources	Average loan per family	
	1966-67	1983-84
Friends, relatives and private money lenders, shops etc.	307.22 (89.31)	942.00 (20.47)
Government and Institutional sources	23.84 (6.93)	3580.00 (77.62)
Others e.g. arrear rent tax, dues of medicine shop etc.	12.93 (3.76)	88.00 (1.91)
Average in Rupees and Taka (Percentage)	343.99 (100)	4600.00 (100)

Notes : 1. Source of 1966-67 data—Ref. 7, Table E8 (a), p. 132.

2. Figures are averages per household in rupees (1966-67) and taka (1983-84). Percentages are given in parentheses.

TABLE-5

Table showing comparison of the value of farm output (per acre of land) of households in Ujangram in 1966-67 and 1983-84 at the constant price of 1966-67.

Total value of farm production per acre land owned in	1966-67	1983-84
Taka		
Nil	0.00	27.10
1– 250	15.74	3.74
251– 500	37.04	11.22
501– 750	29.63	30.84
751–1000	8.33	13.09
1001–1500	2.78	3.74
1501–2000	2.78	2.80
2001–2500	1.85	2.80
2501–3000	0.93	1.87
Above 3000	0.92	2.80
Total :	100.00	100.00
Average :	466.86	783.06

Notes : 1. 1966-67 figures from reference 7, page 83.

2. Averages are based on ungrouped data.

TABLE-6

Showing the opinions of 'Case-Persons' on what causes (a) Improvement in the economic condition of the rural people, and (b) What causes deterioration in their economic condition.

TABLE-6 (a)

Given Opinions	Those who became poorer, said		Those who became richer, said		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Those who used their land better, improved their condition.	9	1	10	0	19	1
2. Those who went into nonfarm activities like trade or jobs, improved their condition.	7	3	7	3	14	6
3. Those who went into village politics secured government power and won elections have improved their condition.	5	5	3	7	8	12
4. Those who had fewer children, kept their families small, have improved their condition.	9	1	10	0	19	1
5. Those with whom God was pleased, have improved their condition.	10	0	10	0	20	0
6. Those who were already well-to-do, have improved their condition.	3	7	5	5	8	12
7. Those who acquired more assets, capital and land have improved their condition.	10	0	10	0	20	0

TABLE-6 (b)

Given Opinions	Those who became poorer, said		Those who became richer, said		Total	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
1. Those who did not have land, eventually become poorer.	10	0	5	5	15	5
2. Those who are not litterate, become poorer.	4	6	3	7	7	13
3. Families that have too many people, become poorer.	8	2	3	7	11	9
4. Those who are not skillful and are idle, become poorer.	10	0	10	0	20	0
5. If God is unhappy with somebody, he becomes poorer.	9	1	10	0	19	1
6. Those who cannot take to non-farm work, become poorer.	5	5	4	6	9	11
7. Those who have enmity, quarrel etc., within the family, become poorer.	10	0	10	0	20	0

BOOK REVIEW

SERAJUL ALAM KHAN AND ZILLUR RAHMAN KHAN, *On Constitution and Constitutional Issues. University Press Limited, Dhaka, May* 1983. *pp. XIV*+17. *Price Tk.* 13.00

AZIZUL HAQUE*

The monograph contatins some constitutional proposals for Bangladesh. The central theme of the proposals revolves around the question of professional, occupational and group representation in the national policy-making process, with a view to ensuring stability of the political order. The aim of the monograph, in the words of the publisher, is to "stimulate discussion and elicit response from all concerned".

The present discussion will concentrate on the central theme than on its details. The suggestion for occupational representation is essentially in line with the programme of the JSD (particularly of the Chittaya-Rob faction). Even the size of the proposed national parliament corresponds with that suggested by the JSD (300 members elected from territorial constituencies+200 members elected by different occupational groups). For this purpose 13 occupational groups have been listed in the Appendix. The JSD has been clamouring for occupational representation over the last few years. The present monograph, mainly prepared by Serajul Alam Khan (who himself recently resigned from the JSD) appears to aim at popularising the idea further.

In British India, by the Indian Councils Act of 1892, some sort of occupational representation (viz., from the Calcutta chamber of commerce, Municipalities, University Senates and other commercial bodies) in Central Legislature was admitted. Since then, although the Governor General in British India retained very limited power to nominate members, representing special interests, the greater emphasis was put on territorial and communal representation.

The issue of participation by occupational groups (non-military) in the decision-making process may have politically conscious people for or against it. In a multi-party system it may or may not work. However, the issue of participation of the armed forces, as a professional group, in the decision-making process deserves cool thinking and cautious move. Recent world

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history shows that the defence forces can fruitfully participate in the decision-making process only in a one-party state ststem established through a social revolution. For example, in China and the Soviet Union the communist party is in absolute control of the armed forces and the bureaucracy. The latter two exist and work in order to meet the requirements of the goal and ideology of the communist party, leaving no option for a different political goal. In essence, the three agencies, i.e., the party, the army and the bureaucracy, are identical and attuned to the same purpose. Article 15 of the Chinese constitition reads : "The Chinese People's Liberation Army and the people's militia are the workers' and peasants' own armed forces led by the Communist Party of China...The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces." Moreover, in China the army is simultaneously considered a fighting, working and "production force." The Chinese army has grown through armed struggles over the decades, with a distinct communist ideology. The soldiers have traditions of having worked on lands and in factories.

But in a capitalist multi-party state system the training pattern and life-style of the personnel of the armed forces, with options for personally holding different political views, is opposed to what have been mentioned above. In such a system the army, as the symbol of national unity, has to stand above political controversy and work as a 'neutral body' (like the bureaucracy), trained to obey without questioning the orders of the established government (i.e., the party-in-power). In a multi-party system any deviation from this is fraught with dangers and problems. First, politics in a multi-party system essentially presupposes controversy. Hence army's direct participation in the decision-making process is bound to make it controversial and it will adversely affect its discipline and unity. Moreover, in such a situation if the political orientation of a dominant/significant section of the army is opposed to that of the party-in-power, then it may be inspired (having the advantage of possessing the instruments of violence) to stage a military intervention. This statement seems to apply better to the Bangladesh army. The growth of the Bangladesh army out of the assortment of many fighting groups, viz., regular Bengali soldiers, EPR, Police, Ansars, Mujahids, students, peasants, workers, Mujib Bahini, Rakkhi Bahini repatriated soldiers from Pakistan, with varied background, training, experience and expectation, and the short span of the liberation war did not allow the Bangladesh army to emerge well unified with one distinct political orientation. And this 'politicised disunity' in the army has well been exemplified by about 2 dozen army coups, successful or abortive, in Bangladesh since 1975. Second, the argument that army's direct participation in the political process or its constitutional role would secure political stability is justified by neither history nor by instances. The Ayub constitution (Pakistan) provided that for 20 years the Defence

Minister should be one from the Defence Services not below the rank of Lt.-General (Art. 238). The Turkish constitution (after the 1960 coup) admitted constitutional role to the defence forces. These, however, did not prevent Pakistan and Turkey from going again under military rule. In Latin America, Africa and Asia there are many countries which, in spite of the army being in power for long, have gone through recurring army coups. In multi-party systems army interventions are rather caused by, among others, the widespread tension released by the restive social forces, general lack of confidence in the civilian government (coupled with weakening political leadership), alleged threat to the interests of the armed forces and, above all, the availability of opportunity to some ambitious and adventurist army officers. Third, if the armed forces, as a social group, are given representation in the decision-making process in Bangladesh, then logically the BDR, police, ansars, VDP, government officials and employees, peasants, workers, teachers, doctors, scientists, engineers, lawyers, Journalists, industrialists, businessmen, managers etc. may ask for the same right. And it is not that easy to determine and list the number of occupational groups and to achieve a consensus on the suitable procedure for securing their representation. In that case there remains a risk of complicating, rather than easing, the situation further.

It is sometimes argued that in a developing country like Bangladesh the national army should have a role in the nation-building activities. In such a country there may exist many social groups, government or private (see the groups mentioned above). If each group performs the activities, for which it is best suited, faithfully, it can claim to have participated in nation-building activities. For example, the workers in factories and peasants on lands are really engaged in building up the nation. Participation in nation-building activities does not necessarily mean participation in the decision-making process. Nor participation in the political process should be confused with participation in direct policy-making process. For example, a soldier or a government empolyee may personally hold a political view and as a citizen he may vote in the election (although he cannot be a member of a political party or cannot contest the election). Here he is participating in the political process without participating directly in the decision-making process. Moreover, India too is a developing country with a big national army. If India can march forward without constitutional role for the defence forces then why not Bangladesh ?

As long as Bangladesh remains a multi-party system, simply constitutional role for the armed forces would not be sufficient to secure political stability or to keep away military intervention. Much would depend, among others, on political leadership and the attitude of the dominant section of the armed

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ENGLISH TRADE AT DHAKA (1736-1745)

ABDUL KARIM*

The cotton goods of Dhaka was in great demand both within the Indian subcontinent and the outside world. The fine muslin, called *malmal* were procured in large quantities for the Mughal emperor and the provincial governor. Those procured for the emperor were called the *malbus khas* and those for the governor were called the *sarkar-i-ali.* The Mughal government appointed an officer called the *darogha-i-malbus khas wa tant-khana,* who maintained an establishment to procure the goods for the emperor and the Bengal Nawab. The European companies and the foreign and up-country merchants also exported Dhaka cotton goods in large quantities. We propose to discuss here the English trade at Dhaka during the years 1736-1745.

The cotton goods of Dhaka occupied prominent place in Bengal's trade with the outside world and Dhaka goods formed a major share in the exports from Bengal by the European companies. The weaving industry of Dhaka may be traced back to the early centuries of the christian era, but in the Mughal period, particularly in the 18th century, the industry expanded enormously owing to the increased export. The weaving was carried out in the district of Dhaka and her adjoining area, more or less in every village,[1] but the weavers of some places attained a greater skill and these places became the chief manufacturing stations of the finest muslins for which Dhaka achieved a World-wide fame. There places were Dhaka, Sonargaon, Dhamrai, Teetbaddy, Junglebari and Bazitpur.[2]

The East India Company first started a factory at Dhaka in 1669. The Court of Directors permitted their agents at Hugli in 1668, "to send two or three fitt (sic) persons thither (Dhaka) to reside and to furnish them with cloth etc. proper from that place."[3] So the English opened a factory at Dhaka and John March and John Smith were appointed to carry on business at the Dhaka factory.[4]

Two individual English merchants had started their business at Dhaka, even before the establishment of the English factory. They were James Hart and Thomas Pratt. Hart established a business firm at Tejgaon, but as his business did not prosper, he transferred his firm to the English Company when the Company's factory was established.[5] Pratt was first in the service of Mir Jumla, probably engaged in the latter's private trade, but later was absorbed by the English Company as an agent to procure goods for the Dhaka factory.[6]

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The Dhaka factory established in 1669 continued upto 1690. During the period the factory was run by a council consisting of one chief and two or three factors. They resided at Dhaka and conducted their business. When in 1690, the English under Job Charnoc waged war against the Mughal government, their Dhaka factory had to be closed. The Dhaka factory was re-settled in 1723 during the viceroyalty of Murshid Quli Khan.[7] From that time onward, the English Company made considerable trade with Dhaka through the factory, till ultimately, the English became the masters of the country.

The Dhaka factory was managed by a council headed by a chief and conposed of 2 to 4 other members called factors. They recorded their activities in proceedings called consultations, and these proceedings supply valuable information about the procurement of goods, their price, the names of agents called *dalal* and *paikar* through whom goods were procured, the names of bankers engaged in money lending business, the relation of the council with the Mughal officers and on various other matters connected with their trade, information that help in reconstructing Dhaka's economic history. Although the early records of the English council at Calcutta have been well preserved, the Dhaka records have not been preserved so systematically. Volume I, comprising the records from 1723 to 1736 is missing, I could not trace it in the India office, and during the later period, particularly from volume 6, matters other than related to trade have been compiled. For example, volume 6, contains, not the consultations of the Dhaka Council relating to trade, but the account of Muhammad Reza Khan's collection of Dhaka revenues during the period of his *diwani*.[8] Volumes 3-5 contain records only in the form of concise statements and in these volumes many consultations are missing so that a total picture of the trade cannot be obtained. Volume 2 containing records of the period from 1736 to 1745 is available ; in this volume, the records from 1736 to 1738, deal with almost every aspect connected with trade, but for the later period i.e. for 1739-1745, there are many lapses. However, the present paper on the English trade at Dhaka from 1736 to 1745, is prepared on the basis of the materials available in volume 2 of the Dhaka Factory Records.

Nature of procurement of Dhaka goods

The East India Company exported cotton goods from Dhaka from the very early period of their trade in Bengal. When they had no factory at Dhaka, they procured the Dhaka goods through their agents called *dalal* and *paikar*. But with the establishment of the Dhaka factory, their export from Dhaka increased in volume and the procurement of goods was systematised. The Calcutta Council used to send each year a list of their requirements to the Dhaka factory as per order of the court of Directors and the Dhaka

factory used to contract goods accordingly. The usual policy was to engage some local businessmen called *dalal* and *paikar* to procure goods for the Company. These merchants were paid advance sometimes to the tune of 75% of the price of goods procured through them. Sometimes the factors also made cash purchases from the *bazars* or markets. When the agents supplied goods to the Company's warehouse, their accounts were balanced. The advance so paid was known as *dadni* in Calcutta and *pattan* in Dhaka due to the change in local dialect.

The following account gives a clear idea as to how the Dhaka goods were procured in 1676 :—[9]

"I. The most proper season for giving out monies (money) for (khassal) mullmulls (malmal), & Ca. made in and about Dacca, is the month of January.

"2. Dellols (dalals) or brokers, accustomed with, and appointed by the goverment to the business of cloth, take four months' time for its delivery, and, within six months and thereabouts, do usually bring in the same brown (i.e. unbleeched) as it comes from the weavers.

"3. The said brokers having took money, deliver it to the picars (paikars) ; who carry it from town to town and, deliver it to the weavers :—So that, the only security of picars are the weavers :—of the brokers are the pikars : and of the Honourable Company's money, the brokers.

"4. Brown Musters picees are customarily bought, and their prices agreed on before money delivered :.....

"5. When the Honourable Company's cloth is brought in, the brokers overlook, sort and prize it : from which they have afore received of the pikars, by deduction, two rupees on each haundred rupees : at which time the chief, & ca. take good care to interpose with their judgements :- demanding abatements and always receiving the same, (though not according to equal proportion), for want of breadths and lengths and goodness : but cloth much worse than master is returned back provided the brokers are not thought doubtful.

"6. What money is agreed to be paid upon abatements, the delols usually make good in specie ; unless cloth according to muster be procureable.

"7. If at any time it happens, that the delols seem to be partial in overrating the goods ; a merchant of the city is by joint consent chosen, and desired to determine therein and doth so accordingly."

The same process of procurement of goods was followed during the period under review. In addition, the Dhaka factory engaged some more local persons called *moqim,* and sorter ; these people were sometimes in the pay roll of the Company. The *moqims* were stationed to the different manufacturing stations to see that the weavers paid due attention to the weaving of the Company's pattan goods ; the sorters were engaged to sort

out, the cloths received at the Company's warehouse, according to quality.[10] After procurement of goods, the first duty was to get them bleeched which was done in the ground adjoining the Company's factory. For this purpose washermen were engaged. However, after procuring goods and depositing them into the Company's warehouse, there was an elaborate process through which the goods were made ready for despatch to Calcutta. The process should better be described in the words of a Commercial Resident who writes as follows.[11] "After the cloths were bleeched they are delivered in a wet state to *nurdeahs* and *contadars,* who comb and dry the cloths. The *chicon* and *kusheeda* fabrics, and all thick assortments as well as cloths rendered tender from repairs, are dried on the ground, and all the rest on bamboo rails, to which they are secured by strings. The cloths, after having been dried, are examined by a *serberacar* (supervisor) with respect to their colour and state of dryness, and are then wound by *nurdeahs* upon their rollers. They are covered with baftas, and carried in the evening to the factory, where they undergo another examination next morning. Fine and thin cloths are first given to *nurdeahs* to be *turpayed,* and then to *rufugars,* if they are to be gold headed or flowered. They are next unrolled, are examined on tables are the factory, and if necessary are sent to the *dagh-dhobees* to have spots and stains removed, and lastly to *rufugars* to have damages repaired. They are next folded, and then distributed among the *kundergars* to be beetled with chank shells or the mallet, or sent to be ironed. The last examination of them being finished, they are exposed to the sun, where they remain till three in the afternoon, when they are made up in loose bales, and sent to the warehouse.

Here they remain till the time of sorting them for despatch. After this sorting the cloths are put into open bales. From three to five pieces are drawn from each letter of every bale, and being compared by the Resident, or his assistants, with the musters and approved of, the cloths are embaled, screwed, marked, and rendered ready for despatch. A despatch generally consists of eight or ten thousand pieces."

Company's trade

The Calcutta council asked the Dhaka factory to provide 51,800 pieces of various sorts of cotton goods for 1736-37.[12] The Dhaka factory contracted 9008 pieces in February 1737 worth rupees 65,611/-and 2302 pieces worth Rs. 18464/- and bought from the market worth Rs. 61000/-[13] The list of investment of 1737-38 included 92,562 pieces, of which 30,884 pieces were to meet the deficit of the previous year which could not be supplied in time, It was not possible to procure the huge amount of goods through their agents, i.e. *dalals* and *paikars*, so the Company made cash purchases from the *bazars* : sometimes cash purchases were also made through the *dalals*

paikars. To meet the invoice of 1737-38, the Dhaka factory contracted with the *dalals* and *paikars* to provide 1906 pieces worth Rs.30,601/- and the rest was procured through cash purchase. The consultations dated Ist August 1737 reads, "The broker and dellolls attending were called before us & inform us that the Jungale Cossaes in the additional list of investment they can furnish us with, among the ready money goods but say it is impossible to get the jamdannies ready for this years shipping ; that the 2 sorts of mulmuls must be pattan and that they hope to be able to deliver them in by the Ist day of December next. Agreed therefore that we contract with them for the Jungale Cossaes, Alliballies and mulmuls but those goods amounting to near Rs. 31000/-being more than we have in cash, we told the dellolls they must be contented with what we have in cash for the present, & wait for the remainder till we receive a supply from Calcutta which they consented." The list of investment for 1738-39 included 72,400 pieces. Of this the Dhaka Council contracted 10,004 pieces worth Rs. 84, 104/4/- on 6.3.1738, and 100 pieces worth Rs. 4,044/- on 11.4.1738. Our records do not help us to say how the rest of the goods were contracted or whether they were purchased in cash. The Dhaka factory received an additional list of investment of 4200 pieces, for 1738-39. When they tried to contract the goods, the *dalals* and *paikars* told them that they were not in a position to provide them in time.[14] The list of investment for 1739-40 was almost the same as in the previous year. Th Dhaka Council contracted 11,713 pieces worth Rs. 1,22,526/12/- in February 1739. After 1739-40, the list of investment or goods procured either through contract or through cash purchases have not been maintained systematically. There are lapses in the records. But an account of the total procurement of Dhaka goods by the Company for 1736-37, 1737-38, 1743-44 and 1744-45 is available and is as follows :—[15]

1736-37	—	Rs. 2,22,366-3-3
1737-38	—	Rs. 3,48,962-15-6
1743-44	—	Rs. 5, 67,791-3-0
1744-45	—	Rs. 5,66,627-14-0

We find, therefore, that the Company's trade at Dhaka in about a decade from 1736-37 to 1744-45 increased by a little more than 60%.

John Taylor, English Commercial Resident of Dhaka writing in 1800 A.D. states that the English Company exported from Dhaka in 1747, goods worth Rs. 3,50,000/-.[16] The accounts of the total export of Dhaka goods by the Company in 1747, are missing in the *Dacca Factory Records,* but the the way in which the Company's export increased year to year, as has been shown above, suggests that John Taylor's estimate falls short of the actual volume of the Company's export from Dhaka. As has been mentioned above, in 1743-44, the Company exported goods worth Rs. 5,67,791-3-0, and in the

following year worth Rs.5, 66,627-14-0. There is no reason why the volume of export of the Company should come down only two years later in 1747.

The Company also imported goods to Bengal. The most important items of import of the Europeans to Bengal were bullion, copper, and lead. The English Company generally imported besides bullion, woolen cloths called broad cloth or *perpetuanoes* of different sorts, lead, copper iron, iron wares, tutenague, vermillion, maderra wine, fire arms, looking glass, and a variety of finer articles, generally called rarities. The Dhaka factory maintained a separate import warehouse, (as against export warehouse) and one of the council members was placed in charge of it. In the records, there is a list of goods stored in the import warehouse in 1736,[17] which shows that the goods included woolen cloths and rarities, that were not commonly found in this country. But there is no reference in the records to show that these goods were ever sold in Dhaka ; the only reference to their disposal is their use in making presents to the government officials.[18] In fact the imported goods of the English and other European companies were never popular in Bengal. "Indeed, while broad cloth remained a staple item in English imports to Bengal, there could be but little hope of increasing the sale proceeds. There was some demand for broad cloth in Patna and at the capital, Delhi, but the problem of persuading the Bengali to exchange his *dhoti* or *lungi* for broad cloth was clearly insoluble."[19]

As the imports of the Company were in little demand at Dhaka the Company had to pay for their entire export in hard cash, either imported from England or earned in other parts of their Asian trading stations. The Dhaka factory received chests of treasures from Calcutta[20] from time to time to meet their requirements ; the Dhaka Council also used to take loan on interest from bankers, if the supply of treasures from Calcutta was delayed.[21]

Private trade of the servants of the Company

The Company's servants, i.e. the chief and factors also carried on private trade. This was allowed by the Company. Taylor writes, "The chief and his assistants had small salaries, but to compensate for this, they possessed the privilege of trading on their private account, being allowed by the Company to embark in such speculations or dealings as did not interfere with their own sales and purchases.[22]" All chiefs and factors carried on their private trade while they remained in the service of the Company. Since they carried on their trade taking all advantages accrued to the Company from the Mughal government and getting facilities from the Company's establishment, the whole establishment charges incurred by the Company's factory at Dhaka, was deducted proportionately from the Company and factors. The proportion was in terms of the volume of trade carried on by the Company and each of the servants. The Establishment cost was calculated

under three heads, charges darbar, charges general and servants' wages. Accounts of proportionate charges for the years 1736-37, 1737-38 and 1743-44 are available in the records.

In 1736-37, the total establishment cost was Rs. 15,589-5-0, the break-up being Rs. 13,006-9-6 for charges darbar, Rs. 1,142,11-6 for charges general and Rs. 1,440-0-0 for servants' wages. The total of the company's trade was for Rs. 2, 22, 366-3-3 and the total of establishment cost of the Company's share was Rs. 12,322-14-6. The volume of trade of the servants of the Company was worth Rs. 59, 009-10-6 and their share of the establishment cost was Rs. 3,066-6-6. In 1737-38, the total establishment cost was Rs. 12, 496-0-6, the break-up being Rs. 9,016-3-3 for charges darbar, Rs. 2,039-13-3 for charges general and Rs. 1,440 for servants' wages. The volume of Company's export was for Rs. 3,48,962-15-6 and the trade of the servants was for Rs.2, 12, 437-5-9. The share of establishment cost of the Company stood at Rs. 7767-6-6 and of the servants stood at 4728-10-0. In 1743-44, the total establishment cost was Rs. 21,487-0-6, the break-up being Rs. 17,180-15-9 for charges darbar, Rs. 2866-0-9 for charges general and Rs. 1440-0- servants' wages. The Company's trade amounted to Rs. 5,67,791-3-0 and that of the servants amounted to Rs. 2,06,822-8-9 and the share of the establihment cost of the Company was Rs. 15,749-14-0 and of the servants Rs. 5, 737-2-6.[23]

It may be seen, therefore, that the volume of trade of the servants of the Company amounted to Rs. 59,009-10-6 in 1736-37 ; Rs. 2,12,437-5-9 in 1737-38 and Rs. 2,06,822--8-9 in 1743-44. In 1744-45, the servants' trade was for an amount of Rs.1,33,068-6-9 while the Company's trade was for Rs. 5,66,627-14-0. The establishment cost for this year is not available and so the proportionate charge of the establishment cost connot be determined. It may, however, be observed that the trade of the Company's servants increased by 71% from 1736-37 to 1743-44 ; in 1744-45 the trade of the Company's servants decreased but even so there was an increase of 55% from 1736-37.

During the period under review the servants of the Company probably traded in cotton goods only. An account of these items of their trade for 1743-44 is available, which shows that the items included only the cotton goods.[24] But Mr. Thomas Cooke, the dismissed chief in 1736 traded in all sorts of goods including cotton goods and his trade was spread in various trading stations. An account of his assets and liabilities recorded by the Company shows that his trade was scattered in various places like Chandpur, Masumnagar, Chittagong, sylhet, Ajmeeriganj, and Chilmari.[25]

Establishment cost of the Company :

Charges Darbar

As stated above, the establishment cost of the Company was grouped under three heads-charges darbar, charges general and servants' wages, of

which the cost of the first item stood always highest. It was customary for the Company as also all foreign traders to make presents to the Mughal government officials from the highest to the lowest levels. The presents were called *nazranah* or *salami* which was legal in the Mughal administrative system. Moreover, by making presents, the Company and other traders used to keep the officers in good humour, because the latter could put obstacles to trade at any pretext or at any time if they so wanted. The *nawab* (actually deputy to deputy *nawab*) or the *diwan* were the most powerful officers at Dhaka to keep control over administrative or revenue matters ; so trade and traders were under their jurisdiction. In the records, there are clear examples as to how a *nawab* tried to extort presents from the company :-

(a) The new *nawab* Sayyid Murad Ali Khan demanded visit and present from the Company as the latter made to the previous nawabs. The chief visited him and paid Rs.500/- which he refused with disdain. So the council decided to avoid payment and wrote to Calcutta for advice.[26]

(b) The *wakil* of the English Company made an *arzdasht* (petition) to the nawab (Sayyid Murad Ali Khan) to be favourable to the Company's trade. The *nawab* demanded visit of the company's chief with the same amount of presents as paid to the previous *nawab,* Ghalib Ali khan. The council asked their *wakil* to request the *diwan* and Siraj al-din Mahmud Khan (*darogah-i-malbus khas wa tant-khana*) to intercede in their behalf to put off the nawab's demand till next May, because the Company was against paying visit twice a year. Ghalib Ali Khan, the previous nawab was visited last April.[27]

Not to speak of the *nawab* and the *diwan,* the subordinate officers, also could disturb the traders on some pretexts. The example of the *darogha-i-malbus khas wa tant-khana* may be cited. This officer was appointed to see that cloths meant for the emperor or the provincial governor were woven as per standard quality and also in time. For this purpose, the officer and his subordinates used to exercise control over the weavers and other workmen connected with manufacturing, collecting and despatching cloths at defferent stations. If these officers were not presented handsomely, they stopped the weavers and other workmen or women from working for anyobdy other than the emperor or the governor, on the plea that if the weaver or worker's attention was diverted, the imperial and governor's requirements could not be met properly and in time. In the records there are some examples to show how the *darogha-i-malbus khas wa tant-khana* and his deputy accepted presents from the Company :--

(a) "There having been in some of the precedings months, given to Serasde-Mamud (Siraj al-din Mahmud) the Tantconna & Mulbucoss droga presents of sundry goods out of the Hon'ble Company's warehouse which were in the following sortments & estimated to him at the following prices—

		Rs.	As.	P.
Broad cloth fine yellow piece	1	120	0	0
Broad cloth aurora piece	2	224	0	0
„ „ ordinary „	3	180	0	0
Velvet Yard	4	56	0	0
Stuff Damask crimson piece	1	82	8	0
„ „ Yellow „	1	63	12	0
		Rs. 726	4	0

He has since frequently sent to us & acquainted us that the above goods are of no use to him and that as the persons who were his predecessors in the two posts[28] he enjoys used to have 2000 rupees per year between them he insists on our taking back those goods and give him ready money in the room thereof. We therefore, considering that as all the dellols, picars, weavers, washermen & ruffugars are all under his command and dare not come to our factory without his leave, we think it our Hon'ble masters' interest to preserve his friendship though at some expense. Agreed that we take back the above mentioned goods from him and pay him in ready money DM Rs. 726-4-0."[29]

(b) "Sally Mahmud (salih Mahmud), Dy Droga (of malbus khas wa tant-khana) took motchleka (bond) from washermen, ruffugars and nurdeahs not to work for the English. The vakil was sent. He said it was by order of Seerajde Mahmud, Droga, who is now at Muxodabad (Makhsusabad= Murshidabad), his demands for Rs. 10,000, for 3 years, 3000 rs. per year for allowing their business, 2000 yearly for the present as they paid to Sreenath, former Droga, and 1000 for present. Sally Mahmud agreed to allow the broker privately till his master came, then the English would find time to accommodate the affair."[30]

(c) "Seerajdee Mahmud, Droga of malbus coss and tantconna returned to Dacca from Muxodabad,. The vakil (of the Company) saw him. He said he should not receive less present than his predecessor Chutenutt.[31] Sarfaraz Cann[32] has fleeced large amount from him and he had to pay more to the Nabob for keeping his office. So he should reimburse by present from the English...

"Seerajde Mahmud lowered his demand to 3000 for past year & to have Rs. 2000 for each future year. As the Company did not comply, their business was stopped—ruffugars, nurdeahs, washermen, kondegurs etc. of the Company were taken prisoners and whipped.

"The council made an interim arrangement with Seerajde Mahmud through the intercession of dellols and paicars not to molest the affair till the next years' investment between which time the council will meet the

differences with Seerajde Mahmud. Seerajde Mahmud cleared the business according to above arrangement."[33]

Sometimes the Company's servants became involved in quarrels with the government officers or local people, which invited the government to interfere. The first such incident took place when one Cossinaut (Kashinath), the godown banian of the Company was confined by the *diwan*. On inquiry it was found that, due to an old dispute, the brother of the Company's ruffugar (darner) complained to the *diwan* against Kashinath. The council reprimanded the ruffugar "because one of his family members complained against a banian of the company." The ruffugar however, took shelter with the *diwan*, so that the council could not take any action against him. The council, however, was very much concerned because the ruffugar, at the time, had in his hand a huge quantity of Company's cloths, thread, silk and cash amount of Rs. 329-3-0. How did the council resolve this dispute is not, however, on record.[34] A few months later the second incident took place which was more serious in nature. "On 24th instant (August 1737) the Nabob (of Murshidabad, i. e. viceroy Shuja al-din Muhammad Khan) sent Sally Mahmud (Salih Mahmud) with a Perwana from Muxodabad asking to deliver Munseram, head sorter of the English. The case was that it was reported that Munseram found 2 vessels of gold mohurs in his compound but appropriated the same without depositing to the king's treasury. On inquiry it was found that the same Munseram was accused of the same offence two years before, but the Duan Jushmont Roy (Diwan Jaswant Roy) freed him as the offence proved to be baseless. The council replied that Munseram is prepared to appear before the court, but as he was very useful to the Company's affairs, they requested the Nabob not to imprison him." Next day the government's guards seized all workmen of the English and took obligation from them not to work for the English, because the English contemned (sic) the king's authority.[35] It was, however, resolved within a week's time. The council paid Rs. 1400 to the nawab and freed Munseram, but actually Munseram reimbursed the amount to the Company's cash.[36]

In about the same time, the Company was again involved in yet another serious case. A *faqir* (Muslim saintly person) was for some years living in the Company's wharf. The *faqir* was removed through the help of the *nawab* (Dhaka nawab). The *faqir* went to Murshidabad and complained to the *nawab* (Shuja al-din Muhammad khan, the viceroy), who issued a *parwana* to the *Qazi* of Dhaka requesting him to inquire into the matter and reinstate the *faqir* if it was proved that the latter had a right to the land, and to help him to build a place of worship (tomb) in memory of the Muslims buried there. The *Qazi* demanded Rs. 250/-from the Company in lieu of which he promised to send a report favourable to the Company. The council paid the amount and the case was dropped.[37]

Mr. William Price, a factor was also involved in a case. Mr. Price had a deal with a native Golob Cossal Picar (Golab Khoshal Paikar) and the paikar owed some money to Price. But the *paikar* refused to pay the money and complained to the *darbar* that Mr. Price owed him Rs. 2000/- which he refused to pay. The *nawab* sent peons who broke open the Price's house, imprisoned his banian Niar Mullick and extorted from him Rs. 800/- for releasing him. Peons were also posted to seize all *dalals, piakars* and workmen of the Company, Muslim women were engaged to bring false accusation against the English servants and their workmen for laying hands upon them. Ramjivan, the English *wakil* at Jugdea[38] was imprisoned and brought to Dhaka. The *wakil* took loan of a sum of money from Company and bought his release by paying the same amount to the *nawab*. Siraj al-din Mahmud, refused to clear the Company's business and posted peons upon the workmen. In this situation the council wrote to the Qasimbazar factory to take up the case with the viceroy at Murshidabad. The viceroy intervened and the case was settled to the satisfaction of both the parties. But in the meantime Siraj al-din Mahmud extorted Rs. 1000/-from the Company, of which Rs. 500/- was paid in cash and the other Rs. 500/-was paid later.[39]

However, the above cases took place only occasionally, but the Company used to make presents every year as a routine matter, particularly on the occasions of important Muslim festivals like the Eid, presents were also made when a new officer came to take up his assignments. Moreover, small presents were made to some or the other officers almost every month.[40]

Charges General

Charges General are nowhere explained in the records. The Company maintained a common table at the factory at Company's expense. The chief and other English servants, all dined at the common table,[41] resided at the factory building in apartments meant for them, moved on boats, called *bajra* or pinnace, owned and maintained at Company's expense.[42] For the chief's attending the *darbar,* a horse was also provided. This was done to keep the dignity of the chief while visiting high government officers. The diet money as sanctioned by the Calcutta council for the Dhaka factory while resettling the same in 1723 bear out how elaborate arrangement was made for the comfort of the Company's servants.[43] The ground rent of the factory building and its maintenance was also charged under this head. The English factory at Dhaka in 1666, as Tavernier describes, was tolerably handsome. It was a onestoried house, having a central hall with sleeping apartments and offices around it.[44] But in 1723, when the factory was resettled, the Company built a house, "in the form of a square, and included a considerable extent of ground, surrounded by low ranges of warehouses,

and having the centre a house for the factors, besides offices and accommodation for servants and guards."[45]

Servants' wages

There were both English and local servants on the pay-roll of the Company's factory. The English servants included the chief and factors, surgeon, military personnel called lieutenant, ensign, serjeant and corporal. The local servants included a large number of warehouse servants, overseers, sorters, accountants, writers, banians, wakils and workmen engaged in marking, assorting and embaling the cloth for transmission to Calcutta. The sepoys were employed to guard the factory and escort goods from the manufacturing stations to the factory and thence to Calcutta. The expenses on this head as available for three years, viz. 1736-37, 1737-38 and 1743-44 were the same, i,e. Rs. 1440-0-0. The break-up of the expenses is not, however, available in the records ; there are only a few instances of payment of salaries to different categories of servants.[46] The accounts show that in 1737, the salary of George Mandeville chief and John Freame, senior merchant was £ 40 or Rs. 320/- per annum or little over Rs. 26½ per month ; of William Price, junior merchant was & £ 30 or Rs. 240/- per annum or Rs. 20/- per month. Factors Thomas Feake and Bernard Boukett's pay was £ 15 or Rs. 120/- per annum or Rs. 10/-per month. The surgeon John Coleman used to get Rs. 40/- per month. Of the military establishment, the Lieutenant got Rs. 35/-, the Ensign Rs. 24/-, the Serjeant Rs. 20/, the Corporal Rs. 13/-, the Drummer Rs. 13/-, the private sepoy Rs. 10/- per month. Of the other servants like sorter, accountants, writers, gomashtha etc. the overseer and head sorter used to get Rs.100/-, sorter Rs. 20/-, head banian Rs. 21/per month and others got between Rs.4/-to Rs.17/- per month, the lowest salary in this category being Rs. 4/-. Among the wakils, the wakil posted to the court of the *nawab* got the highest salary of Rs.55/-per month, while others posted to the subordinate offices received a salary of Rs.8/-to 15/-per month.

It is worth mentioning that the salary of the English chief of the factory was less than that of the Lieutenant and Surgeon ; even the overseer and head sorter who was a local servant used to receive a salary about four times more than that of the chief. The factors received a salary much less than many local servants. It must be remembered, however, that the chief and the factors could save their entire salary, because all their expenses, including their food and lodging, even washing and hair-cutting charges were borne by the Company. Their transport cost was also charged in the Company's account. Above all, they were allowed to carry on their private trade, which was their chief attraction as "covenanted servants" of the Company.

It may also be mentioned that the Company's establishment cost was very low. The establishment cost in 1736-37 was about 5.5% ; in 1737-38 about 2.2% ; and in 1743-44 about 2.8% of the total export.

Sometimes, the Company also sustained losses in their trade due to bad weather and the natural calamities. A consultation of 1737 reads, "We having with concern observed in inspection of these goods also of the 65 bales we sent hence the 19th ultimo that they did not appear so good in their kinds as the 101 bales we sent in October notwithstanding the cloth when browne was as good and as cheap bought as the 101 bales, and being fearful that we may thereby incur the displeasure of our Hon'ble masters as also the Hon' ble President & Council of Fort William we think it our duty to them as well as in justice to ourselves to prevent these impositions by writing to the Hon'ble the President & Council the real occasion thereof which is truely owing to accidents which we have not had in our power to prevent or remedy. The occasion of the goods looking so much worse than what sent in October is truely owing to the following reasons. Cloth washed here in the rains is always better bleeched and will look better than what washed in the succeeding months when the sun does not appear so much not with that force but besides this (which must always be the case) we had the misfortune when our business was stopped on account of Munseram's affairs[47] to have a great quantity of cloth lay whett (wet) in bundles at Tejgaon for upwards of 14 days without any washermen being allowed to meddle with it which so prejudiced the cloth that it was not in their power afterwards to make it look as it should do. And this unfortunate affair was hardly over before the violent hurricane happened[48] when had sent another large quantity of cloth to be washed which being a great deal of it whett (wet) was much damaged by the Bungalows (?) and rubbish that were blown down upon it and which did it irreparable loss."[49] In 1745, a warehouse of the Dhaka factory was burnt by fire causing loss to the goods of the Company worth Rs. 2, 459-0-3.[50]

We have given above an account of trade of the English Company and their covenanted servants at Dhaka in a limited period i.e. a decade from 1736-1745. During this period, their export from Dhaka increased year to year, so that by 1745 the English Company and their servants became the largest exporters of Dhaka goods. The Company, therefore, became an important factor in the economic life of Dhaka during the period. Their influence on the economy of Bengal as a whole and also of Dhaka in particular, has been discussed by scholars.[51] So the subject is not repeated here.

Notes and References

1. *A Descriptive and Historical Account of the Cotton Manufacture of Dacca* (by a former resident of Dacca, probably James Taylor), hereafter referred to as (*Cotton Manufacture*), London, 1851, p. 5.

2. *Ibid.* "Dacca produced both coarse and finer fabrics. The coarse fabrics were meant for the use of the local people and for use by the poorer people of neighbouring districts, in fact of the whole of Bengal, while the finer ones, generally called *muslin* were meant for the higher class of people and exports. The fine muslins were of several kinds and were known by several denominations—*malmal, tanzeb* (adornment of body), *nayansukh* (pleasing to the eye), *chikan* (thin or fine), *charkona* (square shaped or four cornered design), ab-i-rawan (running water), *shabnam* (morning dew). *Jungle Khassa* (speciality of Junglebari manufactureing station), *doorea* (striped), *Jamdany* (flowered), and *booti* (designed with knotted forms)". (A.Karim : *Dacca the Mughal Capital,* Dacca, 1964, p. 84). The Dhaka muslin preserved in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London, are classified under the following names :- (1) *chikan* (embroidered used for dress), (2) *ab-i-rawan* (plain cloth used for dress), (3) Sarkar-i-ali (used for dress), (4) *shabnam* (used for dress), (5) *tanzeb* (used for dress), (6) *nayansukh* (used for neckkerchief of scarf), (7) Jungle-khassa (used for dress), (8) *doorea* (used for children's dress), (9) Jamdani (used for dress), and (10) booti (used for dress). Eorbes Watson : (*The Textile Fabrics of India,* vol. VIII). John Taylor, Commercial Resident of Dhaka, writing in 1800 refers to some more subclassification viz., *kaghazi* (as glossy as paper), *bafta kaghazi,* sarbti (designed with knotted forms at the head side), *mahmudiati,* sarband (head dress), *tarah andam* (a kind of cloth used for the body), *hammam* and *sarhadkonah.* (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan,* vol. VII, No. 2, 1962, pp. 324-26). For details about these and other varieties, see *Cotton Manufacture,* pp. 43-48.

3. William Foster ed. : *The English Factories in India,* 1668-69, p. 171.

4. "Dacca Diaries" in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta,* vol. XVI, 1920, p. 91.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Bengal : Past and Present,* vol. XXXIII, 1927, p. 32.

Foster gives more information about Thomas Pratt. He writes, "The Madras letter referred to above mentions some 'mischance 'that happened about Thomas Pratt at Dacqua (Dhaka),' which had brought upon the English the displeasure of the Nawab, Daud Khan. The reference is elucidated by Manucci (*Storia do Moqor,* vol. II, p. 102), from whose account it appears that Pratt's servants became involved in a quarrel with some soldiers, whereupon the latter attached his house. Pratt fired upon the assailants, doing great execution, with the result that they decamped : and then fearing the of this action, he put a few goods on board a vessel and fled. Manucci's further statement, that Pratt thereupon took refuge in Arakan and was thus put to death by the king, is incorrect, that incident took place in 1667. A Dutch letter from Hughli, written on 24 October, 1664 said that Pratt and four more Englishmen had reached Rajmahal in a sloop mounting four guns, his object being to offer to the new Nawab, his services in building ships and making cannon (*Dagh-Ragister,* Batavia, 1664, p. 560). In a consultation held at Hughli on 11 July, the English factors confirmed a previous order of 9 June, stopping Pratt's pay and allowances until he had given satisfaction 'for what layed to his charge' ; but presumably this decision was rescinded later, for the Madras letter of 12 January, 1665 mentions that Blake is forced to continue Mr. Pratt at Dacca at great charge." (W. Foster ed. *The English Factories in India,* 1661-64, p. 393).

Daud Khan, mentioned as Nawab at Dacca, was appointed for a brief period after the death of Mir Jumla. He reached Dacca at the end of 1663. The new Nawab whom Pratt went to receive at Rajmahal was Shaista Khan who reached Rajmahal on

8th March, 1664 and reached Daeca in December of the same year. (History *of Bengal*, vol. II, Dacca University, 1948, p. 230). Manucci's information that Pratt was killed by the Arakan king, and which incident Foster places in 1667, cannot be corrert, because in that case Pratt could not have served the English Company at Dhaka in 1669.

7. India Office Records : *Bengal Public Consultations*, 19 January, 25 March, 1723.

8. These records have been published in my *Dacca The Mughal Capital*, Dacca, 1964, Appendix, 3.

9. India Office Records : *Home Miscellaneous Series*, vol. 47 ; also published in *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, vol.II, pp. 14-15.

10. Dacca Factory Records (hereafter referred to as *DFR*), vol. II, Consultations 16 January, 1637 ; 27 September, 1745 ; *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 88.

11. *Quoted in Cotton Manufactur*, p. 99.

12. The list is given here as a sample :---

Alliballies to be clean struck with even thread and not fray, i. e. fine & middling of each sort eight hundred pieces	.....	16,00
Cossaes jungall fine with gold heads one hundred	.....	1,00
Dimmitties plain of low prices three thousand	.....	3.000
Ditto fine one thousand five hundred	.....	1,500
Diapers of different figures two hundred	.....	200
Mulmuls Dacca yeard broad of low prices ten thousand	.....	10,000
Ditto fine sort with gold heads five hundred	.....	500
Nain-sooks plain the finest that can be made and thick two hundred	.....	200
Seerbands of low prices from two to three rupees four thousand	.....	4,000
Ditto fine from five to seven rupees very well made even struck & not Frayed six thousand	.....	6,000
Ditto fine five hundred	.....	500
Seerhaydcoı ıes the finest two hundred	.....	200
Tanjebs Dacca yeard & eighth broad most with gold heads three thousand	....	3,000
Ditto yeard broad fine with gold heads from ten to six rupees one thousand	....	1,000
Ditto middling without gold heads from ten to six rupees four thousand	.....	4,000
Ditto yard broad low prices ten thousand	.....	10.000
Ditto superfine two thousand	.....	2,000
Terrendams yard and three sixteenth broad of low prices from six to four rupees two thousand	.....	2,000
Ditto fine with gold heads one thousand	.....	1,000
Ditto superfine with gold heads one thousand	.....	1,000

(*DFR* II, 2.2. 1737)

13. *D F R* II, Consultations, 2 Feb, 1737 ; 19 Feb, 1737 ; 13 March, 1737 ; Cash Account of April, 1737 ; Cash Account of June, 1737.

14. *D F R* II , Consultations, 31 May, 1738.

15. *D F R* II, Consultations, 10 July, 1737 ; 3 May 1738 ; Ist June 1744 ; 4 June 1745.

16. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Dacca, vol. VII, no. 2, 1962, pp. 307-39

17. List of sundrys in the Import Warehouse (stock of 29 November 1736) *D F R* II, following Consultations, 20 December, 1736.

37 Small silver handled knives for sweetmeats
33 Small spectacles
353 large ,,
21 prisms
10 Snuff boxes
40 claspknives with pearl handles
3 pair of looking glass
1 large beam to weigh grass goods
1 small & 1 pair of scales to weigh silver & Ca.
I ship with 110 brass guns riging & ca. (model) ?
99 glass cups
11 pair of scipars (scissors ?) large and small
Broad cloth fine red 24-7 yds, and yellow 12-6 yrds
Do Do 2 pieces and ,, 1 piece
Do aurora 6 pieces
Do ordinary red 5 pieces
Do Do green 14 yrds
Perpet. fine red 6 pieces
Do ordinary and white 2 pieces
Do Do yellow 10 yrds, blue 1 yd., red 2-5 yds
Gold and silver lace 37-7 yds
Velvet 29-7 yds
Bocades 3.1

18. Quoted later in this paper.

19. A.Karim : *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times, Dacca*, 1963, p. 228.

20. In the records there are several examples of receiving cash from Calcutta :
16. 1. 1737 —15 chests, Rs. 8000/-each with Rs. 3/-less
=119,997
5 " Rs. 6000/-each with Rs. 1/-less
=29,999
=Rs. 1,49,996

5.2.1737—6 chests. Rs.6000/—each Madras rupees Rs. 72000 (sic)
9.8.1739—Calcutta council sent a bill of Rs. 1,00,000/- through the banking firm of Futhichand (Futhechand Jagatseth).

21. There are also references to the taking of loans from the bankers :
11.12.1736—Dacca council took a loan of Rs. 10,000/from Sibdas Saha
12.7.1743—Seat Monichand Jagatseat Futhichand brought in his interest note and paid as follows :

Principal=Rs. 30,000-0-0
Interest 6 months— 13 days @ 9% =Rs. 1,447-8-0
Total =Rs. 31,447-8-0

15.8.1743—Dhaka factory took loan as follows :—

(a) Rs. 4000/—from Rada kissen payable to Kessen Charn Dutta at Calcutta

(b) Rs.3000/—from Chuckobyswasse payable to Kreparrem at Calcutta

Loan paid off with interest :-(13. 12. 1743)

1 note to seat Mortabroy due 5 Nov. 1742—30,000—0—0
1 „ „ „ 5 „ „ —20.000—0—0
1 „ „ Cyroopchand „ 5 Dec. „ —30,000—0—0
1 „ „ „ „ 20 Feb. 1743—20,000—0—0
1 „ „ Mortabroy „ „ „ —40,000—0—0

interest @ 9% per annum.

22. Cotton Manufacture, p. 87.

The names of chief and factors of the Dhaka factory as available in the *Dacca Factory Records*, vol. II. are as follows :-

29 December, 1736

Francis Russell, chief (vice Thomas Cooke dismissed),
William Price, Export Warehouse Keeper, Thomas feake, Import Warehouse keeper, and Bernard Boukett, Bakhshi.

On 10 July, 1737, John Freame is mentioned as a factor alongwith Feake and Boukett.

On 3 May, 1738, George Mandeville was the chief alongwith Price, Feake, and Boukett as factors. Mandeville became chief in 1737.

On 17 May, 1738, Joshua Moore is mentioned as the chief.

on 17 September, 1738, John Freame is mentioned as the chief.

on 1 September, 1740, William Boukett was the chief.

On 28 April, 1742, Gumley was the chief.

On 2 May, 1743, Joshua Moore again became chief.

On Ist June, 1743 :

Joshua Moore was the chief with John Smith, Semuel Rooper, James Blackford and Thomas Man as factors.

On 27 April, 1745, Thomas Feake became the chief.

23. The Account of trade of the Company and their servants for 1736—37, 1737-38, 1743-44 and 1744-45 are as follows :.....

1736-37. Total estalishment cost of the Company was as follows :

Charges Darbar	—	—	Rs. 13,006-9-6
Charges General	—	—	„ 1,142-11-6
Servants' wages	—	—	„ 1,440-0-0
			Total—15,589-5-0

The volume of trade of the Company and the servants was as follows :-

Company	—	—	Rs. 2,22,366-3-3
Thomas Cooke, Dismissed chief	—	—	„ 3,759-0-0
Johm Freame	—	—	„ 30,339-15-9
Thomas Feake	—	—	„ 6,655-2-6
Bernard Boukett	—	—	„ 18,255-8-3
			Total of servants' trade— 59,009-10-6

of the total establishment cost, the proportion of the Company and each of the servants was as follows :—

Company	—	Rs.	12,322-14-6
Thomas Cooke	—	,,	207-12-6
John Freame	—	,,	1,681-6-0
Thomas Feake	—	,,	367-7-0
Bernard Boukett	—		1,009-13-0

1737-38

Total establishment cost was as follows :—

Charges Darbar	—	Rs.	9,016-3-3
Charge General	—	,,	2,039-13-3
Servants' wages	—	,,	1,440-0-9
		Total—	12,496-0-6

The volume of trade of the Company and the servants was as follows :

Company	—	Rs.	3,48,962-15-6
George Mandeville, chief	—	,,	71,269-15-3
William Price	—	,,	95,464-12-0
Thomas Feake	—	,,	3,226-0-0
Bernard Doukett	—	,,	28,508-3-9
Thomas Cooke's goods sent to Calcutta	—		13,968-6-9
Total of Servant's trade=		Rs.	2,12,437-5-9

Of the total establishment cost, the proportion of the Company and each of the servants was as follows :

Company	—	Rs.	7,767-6-6
George Mandeville, chief	—	,,	1,580-13-9
William Price	—	,,	2,132-11-3
Thomas Feake	—	,,	71-12-3
Bernard Boukett	—	,,	633- 4-0
Cooke (dismissed chief)	—		310- 0-9
		Rs.	12,496-0-6

1743-44

Total establishment cost was as follows :

Charges General	—	Rs.	2,866-0-9
Servants' wages	—	,,	1,440-0-0
Charges Darbar	—	,,	17,180,15-9
		Rs.	21,487-0-6

The volume of trade of the Company and the servants was as follows :

	Total trade		Share of Establishment cost	
Company	Rs.	5,67,791-3-0	Rs.	15,749-14-0
Joshua Moore	,,	1,01,515-0-3	,,	2,815-15-9
John Smith	,,	10,015-13-0	,,	277-13-0
Samuel Rooper	,,	16,157-7-3	,,	448-3-3
James Blackford	,,	66,116-8-0	,,	1,834-0-9
Thomas Man	,,	13,017-12-3	,,	361-1-9
Total of Servants' trade---		2,06,822-8-9		

1744-45

In 1744-45, the volume of the Company's trade was worth Rs. 5,66,627-14-0, while the trade of the servants of the Company stood as follows :-

Joshua Moore	— Rs.	48,010-7-6
John Smith	— ,,	41,905-6-0
Samuel Rooper	— ,,	23,746-3-6
James Blackford	— ,,	15,875-8-0
Thomas Man	— ,,	3,530-13-9
Total—		1,33,068-6-9

24. An account of the private trade of the servants in 1743-44 :

Thomas Joshua Moore :

Dooreas,	Pieces	2743	— Rs.	16,950-6-9
Malmals	,,	5080	— ,,	21,696-13-9
Neck cloths	,,	884	— ,,	7,267-1-6
Seerhaud	,,	1559	— ,,	2,380-6-9
Mutchucol malmal		3648	— ,,	9,941-15-9
Rehungs	,,	2092	— ,,	4,471-11-0
Junos	,,	2421	— ,,	3,827-0-9
White handkerchief	,,	1023	— ,,	6,268-14-6
Tanjibs	,,	107	— ,,	732-3-0
Hummums	,,	327	— ,,	1,908-7-9
Muggadooties cubits	,,	703	— ,,	15,534-4-0
Cossaes	,,	408	— ,,	3,256-3-0
Baftaes	,,	3020	— ,,	7,179-7-9
			Total—	1,01,515-0-3

John Smith :

Malmal Mahmudiatis	Pieces	610	— Rs.	2,413-10-3
Do Mutchocol	,,	384	— ,,	933-11-6
Dooreas	,,	526	— ,,	2,381-0-9
Baftaes collinda	,,	1070	— ,,	2,136-6-6
Muggadooties	Cubits	100	— ,,	2,150-0-0
		Total—		10,015-13-0

Samual Rooper :

Dooreas Charcon	Pieces	292	— Rs.	1,434-11-3
Dooreas	,,	500	— ,,	2,381-1-6
Seerbands	,,	200	— ,,	565-0-0
Malmal Mutchacol	,,	2000	— ,,	2,932-13-0
Do Mahmudiatis	,,	500	— ,,	2,205-3-9
Muggadooties	Cubits	80	— ,,	1,535-0-0
Baftaes Dacca	Pieces	200	— ,,	900-4-3
Annundee Malmal	,,	1500	— ,,	4,203-5-6
		Total—		16,157-7-3

James Blackford :

Malmal ordinary	Picces	9340	—Rs. 30,936-3-6
Dooreas plain	,,	4003	— ,, 20,032-3-9
Baftaes Dacca	,,	2000	— ,, 8,998-6-0
Muggadooties	Cubits	285	— ,, 6,149-10-9
		Total—	66,116-8-0

Thomas Man :

Dooreas	Pieces	601	— Rs. 4,000-0-0
Rehungs	,,	360	— ,, 667-0-0
Junoes	,,	400	— ,, 766-4-0
Mahmudiatis	,,	859	— ,, 4,009-9-9
Do Mutchacol	,,	600	— ,, 1,122-8-0
Muggadooties	Cubits	39	— ,, 758-0-0
Seerbattis	Pieces	151	— ,, 720-8-0
Baftaes	,,	456	— ,, 973-2-0
		Total—	13,017-12-3

(*D F R*, II, following consultations, Ist June, 1744)

25. Account of sundries of Mr. Cook's private trade remaining at the several aurangs about Dacca under the care of the following gomasthas, viz :—

At Chandpdr with Munnoo gomastha viz.,

	Md.	Sr.	Ch.		Rs.	Ann.	P.
Iron Ballasore	231	14	1		1208	3	0
Pepper	37	23	15		676	13	3
Allum	1	10	0		12	8	0
Tinkall	5	5	8		128	7	0
Red earth	31	0	0		62	0	0
Red wood	11	25	4		26	2	9
Dammer	3	8	11		10	7	0
Hing	0	10	0		80	0	0
Persian salt	14	0	0		21	0	0
Lotkie	1	33	12		29	8	9
Brimstone	41	8	2		206	0	3
Cloves	0	14	0		168	0	0
Bettlenut	301	0	0	(sold at Rattanganj)	884	3	0
Chanks 2000					380	0	0
Duppahs 46					23	0	0

1880 mds. @ 3/8/- per md. 6580-0-0

Ditto with husk 2700 mds. 9450-0-0

Total— 16,030-0-0

Chank sold to Naran dutt & Sitharam for three months' credit 16480 20/4/ per hundred 3,339-0-0

Total— Rs. 23,330-9-0

At Masumnagar with Ugguseen gomastha :

	md.	Sr.	ch.	Rs.	As.	P.
Pepper	66	30	13	1235	4	0
Copper	54	18	1	3115	14	0
Nuttmeggs	0	0	9	3	1	6
Mace	0	0	1	0	11	0
Sandle wood	3	31	3	56	11	3
Iron	235	6	5	1305	2	3
Toothenague	15	9	3	387	6	0
Hartall	1	27	0	50	4	0
Quick silver	0	0	11½	0	8	3
Lead	0	14	11	3	10	9
Tinkall	1	29	8	43	7	0
Tinn	0	1	12	1	1	6
Hing	0	4	0	32	2	0
Chank 39479				7501	1	0
Cossae 1 piece 3-15-0						
Taffatie ½ „ 3-0-0						
Cuttanies 5 „ 21-9-0				28	0	0
Cloves	0	5	0	Tatol—	13,835-14-6	

At Chittagong with Ballackydass gomashtha :

Sundry sorts of cloths 87 pieces			408	—5	—0
Broad cloth	5 „		300	—0	—0
Perpetts	5 „		117	—8	—0
	md.	sr.	ch.		
Pepper	20	5	0	362	4	0
Copper	10	1	4	551	11	6
Mace	0	1	0	12	0	0
Cloves	0	5	0	60	0	0
Iron	50	0	0	275	0	0
Toothenague	10	14	8	238	5	6
Lutendu Canas role of hand				4,355	11	6
			Total—	8,711	7	0

At Sylhaut with Ottaram gomashtha :

	md.	sr.	ch.			
Copper	59	5	4	3,267	—1	—0
Tinn	24	15	0	548	—7	—0
Toothenague	83	3	3	1,914	—14	—9
Sugar	25	0	0	150	—0	—0
Red wood	5	0	0	30	—0	—0
Lead in Madab's hands	3	35	0	34	—14	—0
Persia salt	1	0	4	1	—8	—4
Tinkall	4	6	12	124	—1	—0
Chank 1121				448	—6	—6
Cuttanees 21 pieces				112	—14	—0
Broad cloth 221 quz				713	—0	—0
Perpetts 5 pieces				142	—8	—0
Beads 31583				133	—7	—0
Cloves	0	8	0	96	—0	—0
			Total—	7,717	—11	—3

At Azmaree Gung with Bissonaut gomashtah

Acquila wood 4 mds or thereabout	1,600—0—0
At Chilmaree Goordas gomashtha mustard seed 5500 maunds or thereabout	2,034—11—0

26. *D F R* II, Consultation, 1 August, 1737.

27. *Ibid.*, Consultations, 2 March, 1738.

28. Two posts are (1) *darogha-i-malbus khas* and (2) *Darogha-i-tantkhana.*

29. *D F R* III, Consultations, 5 June, 1737 ; DM rupees mean rupee weighing dash or ten masha, one of the several kinds of rupees current in the country. For various kinds of coins current at Dhaka, see A. Karim : *Dacca the Mughal Capital, Dacca,* 1964, pp. 107-108 ; A. Karim : *Murshid Quli Khan and His Times,* Dacca, 1963, pp. 93-96.

30. *D F R* II, Consultations, 3 December, 1737

31. In the passage mentioned above at (b) his name has been written as Sreenath. It is not possible to ascertain which name is correct.

32. Sarfaraz Khan, son of Shuja al-din Muhammad Khan, the *subahadar,* was then the absentee deputy nawab at Dhaka.

33. *D F R* II, Consultations, 29 December, 1737 ; 6 January, 1738.

34. *Ibid.*, 16 January, 1737.

35. *Ibid.*, 27 August, 1737.

36. *Ibid.*, 4 September, 1737.

37. *Ibid.*, 27 August, 1737.

38. Noakhali district, a little to the west of Feni.

39. *D F R* II, Consultations, 9 March, 1738 ; 20 March, 1738.

40. There are several examples of making such presents in the records which are given below :—

(a) **13 December, 1736.**

A looking glass for darogha-i-malbus khas
Broad cloth ordinary red/1 piece
„ „ aurora 2½ piece
velvet yellow 6 yards
„ red 9 „ For the diwan & other darbar
„ green 4½ „ officers.
A small looking glass
A Cattes of tea

(b) **28 January, 1737.**

Presents to darbar on Eid day :—

Nawab one gold Muhr etc.	Rs.	22—8—0
Mir Kamal	„	5—0—0
Diwan	„	5—0—0
Agha Shafi	„	5—0—0
Mir Jafar	„	5—0—0
Shahr Amin	„	5—0—0
Ghulam Husain Kotwal	„	2—0—0
Agha Baker	„	2—0—0
Mir Qamruddin	„	2—0—0
Shaikh Azizullah	„	2—0—0
Siraj al-din Mahmud	„	5—0—0
Qazi and his dependants	„	17—0—0
Chubdars and servants	„	96—4—0

(c) **October, 1737.**

Siraj al-din Mahmud copper 4 maunds	Rs.	200–0–0
Hajee Mendee (sic)	,,	32–0–0
Nunchenram (sic)	,,	30–0–0
Talib Husain	,,	20–0–0
Agha Baker's Khan-i-Saman	,,	30–0–0
Kujabihari	,,	24–0–0
Nawab's chubdars	,,	8–9–6

(d) 7 May, 1737. Nawab was presented with 3½ maunds of copper.

(e) 9 July, 1737. Mirza Samee and Sibdas, friends of the diwan were presented Rs. 3000/-each.

(f) **25 January, 1738.**

Eid salami was paid as usual to Nawab and other darbar officers (amount is not mentioned).

(g) **2 March, 1738.**

Diwan Jaswant Rai was presented Rs. 500/–

(h) **September, 1738.**

(i) On 14 September, 1738, looking glasses, glass candle-sticks and rose water bottles were purchased by the Company to present the darbar officers. (Details are not given).

(ii) Nawab, Ghulam Husain, Nawab's son, Siraj al-din Mahmud, Salih Mahmud, Rajballabh, Alamganj darogha were all presented. (Amount has not been mentioned. Rajballabh then became diwan vice Jaswnt Rai. Alamganj darogha was the officer resposnsible to collect duties on rice).

(i) **January, 1739.**

Darbar charges on the occasion of the Eid :—

Paid to the nawab	Rs.	19–0–0
Ghulam Husain	,,	10–0–0
Shahr Amin	,,	2–0–0
Qazi	,,	5–0–0
Abdul Fattah Khan	,,	2–0–0
Siraj al-din Mahmud	,,	10–0–0
Mir Baker	,,	2–0–0
Haji Husain	,,	5–0–0
Agha Karim darogha	,,	2½-0-0
Khoshnawis darogha	,,	2–0–0
Mufti	,,	2–0–0
Ghulam Husain's Kotwal	,,	2–0–0
Chubdars and ordinary officers	,,	77–0–0
Mirza Ghulam Husain	,,	50–12–0
Rajballabh diwan	,,	30–7–3
Khwaja Ambar	,,	9–0–0
Siraj al din Mahmud's Jamidar	,,	8–0–0
Nawab's Jamidar pepper 3 srs.	,,	1–14–0
Darbar officers sundry petty sums	,,	40–0–0
Liquor & wax-candles bought for the darbar	,,	65–0–0
Siraj al-din Mahmud, a pair of pistols	,,	60–0–0
	Total—	407–1–0

(Cash Account of January, 1739)

(j) **30th September, 1744.**

Presented as follows :—

Nawajish Muhammad Khan, Deputy nawab	Rs.	2000–0–0
Husain Quli Khan, Deputy to Nawajish	,,	1000–0–0
Diwan Brindaban	,,	1000–0–0
	Total—	4000–0–0

41. **Cotton Manufacture**, p. 87. The expenses on this head is not mentioned in the records of the period under review. But in 1723, when the Dhaka factory was re-settled, the Calcutta council fixed the diet money as follows :—

Diety Money :		**Rs.**	**As.**	**P.**
Mr. John stockhouse	per month	40	0	0
,, Humphreys Cole	,, ,,	20	0	0
,, Edward Reynolds	,, ,,	20	0	0
,, Thomas Cooke	,, ,,	20	0	0
,, Samuel Greenhill	,, ,,	20	0	0
,, William Davies	,, ,,	20	0	0
,, Nathaniel Hall	,, ,,	20	0	0
A horse for chief	,, ,,	9	0	0
2 Chubdars	,, ,,	6	0	0
Washermen	,, ,,	4	0	0
Barber	,, ,,	2	8	0
Gurryallys (sic)	,, ,,	6	0	0
Fross (Farrash)	,, ,,	4	0	0
Flag bearers	,, ,,	2	8	0
2 Mollys (mali= gardener)	,, ,,	4	0	0
1 Merda (mirdah)	,, ,,	3	0	0
Kismutgars (Khidmat-gars)	,, ,,	12	0	0
Cohars (Kahar or Palanquin bearer)	,, ,,	12	0	0
Crutchburdar (sic) and Hollolcore (halalkhore or sweeper)	,, ,,	5	0	0
Mashalchy	,, ,,	2	0	0
Cooks & Butlers	,, ,,	10	0	0
A vaqueel (wakil)	,, ,,	50	0	0
Peons to be enterained & dismissed as necessary.				

(India Office Records : *Bengal Public Consultations*, 25 March, 1723)

42. *D F R* II, 14 September, 1738.

43. See note 41 above.

44. *Cotton Manufacture*, p. 86.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

46. Salary of the chief and factors in 1737 :—(DFR II, 8 April, 1737)

George Mandeville chief	6 months	@ £40	per annum		Rs.	160–0–0
John Freame Sr. merchant	6 months	,,	,,	,,	Rs.	160–0–0
William Price Jr. merchant	6 ,,	,,	30	,,	,,	120–0–0
Thomas Feake Factor	6 ,,	,,	15	,,	,,	60–0–0
Bernard Boukett ,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	60–0–0
John Coleman Surgeon	3 ,,	Rs. 40	,,	month		120–0–0
				Total—	Rs.	680–0–0

Salary of Military establishment in 1737 :- (DFR II, 7 May, 1737)

1	Ensign	Rs. 24–0–0	per	month
1	Sergeant	20–0–0	,,	,,
2	Corporals	26–0–0	,,	,,
1	drummer	13–0–0	,,	,,
19	Private men	190–0–0	,,	,,
	Sicklagures, smith & Harry (Hadi or sweeper)	10–0–0	,,	,,
	Total—	283–0–0	,,	,,

Salary of Black servants of the Dhaka Factory in 1745 :-(*DFR* II, 27 Sept. 1745)

Monnikchund (Manikchand) overseer & Head sorter	Rs. 100–0–0	per month
Monseram (Manseswar Ram ?) sorter	20–0–0	,,
Gurrybullah (Gharibullah) ,,	20–0–0	,,
Accompants		
Bullubtoary (Ballabh Tewary) ,,	17–0–0	,,
Dunno (Danu ?)	15–0–0	,,
Writers		
Gurribax (Gharib Bakhsh)	10–0–0	,,
Goojarmull (Gurjara Mall)	10–0–0	,,
Beecon (Bhikhan Mall ?)	7–0–0	,,
Ramram Sein (Ram/Ram Sen)	6–0–0	,,
Goordial (Guru Dayal)	5–0–0	,,
In the Export Warehouse		
Fuceerchund toary head banian (Fakir chand Tewary)	21–0–0	per month
Munneram (Mani Ram)	15–0–0	,,
Pooranmul (Puran Mall)	15–0–0	,,
Jagradge (Juga Raj De)	15–0–0	,,
Rampersaud (Ram Prasad)	15–0–0	,,
Tackerdass (Thakur Das)	10–0–0	,,
Collotoary (Kalu Tewari)	10–0–0	,,
Monick (Manik)	7–0–0	,,
At Tejganj (Tejgaon)		
Bullubdass (Ballabh Das) } Sunker (Sankar) } Writers	4–0–0	,,
In the Chikendoes (Chikan Das Kotha)		
Ramchchunt (Ramakanta or Ramesh Kanta)	10–0–0	,,
Kissen paul (Krishna Pal)	10–0–0	,,

Gomasthas		
Bullinaut (Balinath) to Sonargaon	10–0–0	per month
Gudadarsein (Gadadhar Sen)	10–0–0	,,
In the Buxey Connah (Bakhshi Khana)		
Otteran (Atma Ram) Banyan	15–0–0	,,
Bridjo (Brija) assistant	10–0–0	,,
Benjiran (Bhanja Ram) writer	4–0–0	,,
Purseram (Parasu Ram) ,, at Tejaganj	4–0–0	,,
Vacqueels (wakil or agent)		
Tackerdass (Thakur Das) Sooqa (?) to *nawab's* darbar	55–0–0	,,
Enas Mahmud (Yunus Mahmud) to tantkhana	8–0–0	,,
Bussur Mahmud (Bashir Mahmud) to Shir Amin	8–0–0	,,
Chand Caun (Chand Khan) to cozee (Qazi) darbar	8–0–0	,,
Pundit Ram (Pandit Ram) to Augo Bauker and Allumgunge (Agha Baker and Alamganj)	8–0–0	,,
Hurrybullub Munsee (Hari Ballabh Munshi)	15–0–0	,,
Saukaroole (Shukrullah) Jemidar (Zamindar) of factory	8–0–0	,,
Total—	515–0–0	,,

Salary of military establishment for 1745 :- (DFR., II, 27 Sept. 1745)

1	Lieutenant	Rs. 35–0–0	per month
5	Serjeants	100–0–0	,,
6	Corporals	78–0–0	,,
2	drummers	26–0–0	,,
46	private men	450–0–0	,,
3	Portuguese	15–0–0	,,
1	quarter gunner	15–0–0	,,
1	armourer	6–0–0	,,
3	sicklagurs	8–0–0	,,
1	Harry (Hadi or sweeper)	1–0–0	,,
	Total	744–0–0	,,

47. Munseram, sorter of the Company was involved in a case, which has been discussed heretofore in this paper, under the sub-heading charges Darbar.

48. The severe cyclonic storm lashed both Calcutta and Dhaka, and probably, the whole of Bengal. It started at 11 p.m. on the night of 30th September and continued upto 7 a.m. of Ist October 1737. At Dhaka most of the buildings were destroyed—the English Company's houses for workmen and washermen were blown away. (*D.F.R,II, Consultations*, 17 October, 1737). The damages in Calcutta were extensive. S. Bhattacharya writes, "The virulence of the storm was so great and the range of destruction so wide that Calcutta 'looked like a place, that had been bombarded by the enemy'. Thomas Joshua Moore, the Company's zamindar, stated in his report that the ranges of the storm had rendered the inhabitants of the 'black town' destitute. 'By the violent force of the wind the river overflowed so much that a great quantity of rice was entirely spoiled', and nearly 3000 inhabitants were killed and a large stock of cattle, goats and poultry were destroyed. The loss to the Company's property and shipping was extensive. No building in the town escaped damage, not a ship but the Duke of Dorsett could be seen in the

river where in the previous evening no less than twenty nine vessels, great and small, had cast anchor." (S. Bhattacharya : *East India Company and the Economy of Bengal,* second edition, Calcutta, 1969, pp. 206-207).

49. *D F R II, Consultations,* 16 December, 1737.

50. *D F R,* II, following *Consultations,* 20 February, 1745.

To give an idea as to the nature of goods kept in the warehouse, the list of burnt goods is given below :-

Jarol plank	230	Rs. 287–8–0	Red lead	11 Seers	7–9–0
Teak do	3	75–0–0	Jute rope	2 md.	7–8–0
do do	3	21–15–0	oil	15 seers	3–0–0
do do	7	17–8–0			
Beams	9	137–0–0	Wood Oil	30 ,,	6–0–0
Mununggee wood	1½	7–8–0	Rattans	6 bundles	9–0–0
Sundry planks	120	120–0–0	Do Bengall	900 bundles	5–10–0
Pussore wood	21	63–0–0	Matts	500	15–10–0
Tar 28 mds.		336–0–0	Do fine	200	12–8–0
Charcoal 225 mds.		56–4–0	Bamboos	300	6–6–0
Gunnys 975		39–0–0	Oars	40	1–0–0
Brimstone 5 mds 20 srs.		49–8–0		DM Rs.	2459–0–3

Dammer 29	123–0–0
Ropes 5 coils	70–0–0
Do large 2 coils	234–0–0
Bellows 2	25–0–0
Gurrahs 100	125–0–0
Guzzees 203	142–1–0
Taffeties 25	250–0–0
Hartall 38 seers	15 –3–3
Lack 8 ,,	5–0–0
Chaulk 5 ,,	1–4–0
Twine 1 md. 20 srs.	12–0–0
Jaggaree 1 md.	1–10–0
Red earth 1 md.	3–0–0
Oakham 62 mds. 10 srs.	50–0–0
Canvas 5 bolts	112–8–0

51. c.f.S. Bhattacharya : *East India Company and the Economy of Bengal,* 1704-1740, *2nd edition, Calcutta* 1967 : A Karim : *Dacca The Mughal Capital,* Dacca, 1964.

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BHUDEV MUKHERJEE'S SCHEME OF PATSHALA EDUCATION IN BENGAL, 1862—1871.

KAZI SHAHIDULLAH*

From late medieval times, at least, Bengal had a system of local elementary schools which imparted practical instruction in accordance to the local community. These schools, known as *patshalas,* provided the bare rudiments of general elementary instruction. The *patshalas* were often housed in shabby dwellings and taught by ill-qualified teachers called *gurus.* Instruction was limited to mainly the 3 R's and the native *mahajani/zamindari* accounts. Printed books were not in use until 1819 and most of the writing was done on plam-leaf and plantain-leaf, paper being rarely used. The *patshalas* did not have any fixed class-routine, time-table or school calendar. There were no annual examinations, pupils being promoted whenever the *guru* was satisfied of the scholars attainments. There were also no desks, benches or blackboards and no fixed seating arrangement for scholars. As such, *patshalas* could hardly be called 'schools' as the modern usage of that term implies.

Until 1854 the Bengal government's policy towards the *patshalas* was one of non-interference and accordingly it did not get involved with the working of the *patshalas.* At that stage, its concern was only with education at the higher levels. The situation, however, changed with the promulgation of the Education Despatch of 1854 which urged that increased attention be given to vernacular schools for elementary education, including the indigenous schools already existing throughout the country. Since available funding was insufficient for the setting up of an independent system of elementary schools, the Bengal government now opted to utilise the *patshalas* for disseminating elementary education to the masses. This necessarily meant for the government taking over control of the *patshalas.* The government's attempts at extending control over the *patshalas* was accompanied by important changes, which affected the very nature of the traditional *pastshala.* These changes, termed Departmentally as 'improvements', were introduced to strengthen the government's authority over the *patshalas,* to upgrade the *patshalas* to Education Department standards, and to bring the *patshalas* under the supervision and effective control of the Education Department. The purpose of this paper is to present a critical study of the reforming measures of Inspector Bhudev Mukherjee undertaken between 1862 and 1871 whith a view to improving the nature of *patshala* education.

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In order to understand the full significance of Bhudeve's scheme, it is important for us to have a brief picture of two other reforming measures undertaken between 1855 and 1862 with the similar objective of improving *patshala* education.

Following the Despatch of 1854, the system of 'circle' schools was started in 1855 by H.Woodrow, Inspector for East Bengal.[1] Under this system, three or four *patshalas* were taken to constitute a 'circle' to which a government pundit was attached on a fixed salary. The pundit's duty was to visit the school and induce the school *guru* to adopt an improved course of instruction. In places where there were no *patshalas,* villagers were promised a pundit if they opened *patshalas* taught by men nominated by the Deputy Inspector. The 'circle' system was not adopted all over Bengal but was limited to the Central and South East Divisions.[2] The primary object of the scheme was the improvement of the indigenous village schools by giving rewards to the *gurus* and their pupils.[3] But that the 'circle' system did not succeed in its object is made clear in the Bengal Report of 1863-64 :

> "The plan ('circle' system) worked with considerable success in the Central and South East Divisions : but, the schools were not mainly attended by the lower orders which were sppposed to constitute the masses, and many of them came to be good Vernacular Schools of the Middle Class, competing successfully in the Vernacular Scholarship Examination".[4]

In the actual working of the 'circle' system, three difficulties emerged. First, as the scheme developed, it became evident that the 'circle' schools were gradually converting into regular government schools and attracting upper class pupils rather than the masses. Second, the expenses involved in the full development of the scheme were calculated to be beyond the means of the Bengal government. And, thirdly, the level of progress achieved by the scheme was considered to be too slow and, it was felt, that much too long a time would be needed under the scheme to improve and control the vast network of existing indigenous schools.[5]

On account of the limited success of the 'circle' system, the Bengal government continued to search for new ways of devising a cheap system of education for the masses. A new scheme of primary education was proposed by the Lt-Governor, Sir J.P. Grant, on 19 October, 1860. Grant's scheme provided for the establishment of a number of 'model' schools and made arrangements for maintaining an efficient inspectorate.[6] He also instituted through a series of 'normal schools' a system of training for village *gurus.* On completion of training the *guru* would return to his village and serve as a teacher with a guaranteed income of not less than Rs. 5 per month.[8]

The trial of Grant's scheme was initially carried out in the Burdwan district and its implementation led to unexpected developments . It was

observed that several changes had been induced in the internal economy of the *patshalas* by the normal school pupils deputing for *gurus* undertraining in normal schools. The *patshala* hours were changed from two sessions(6-9 a.m., 3 to 6 p.m.) to one continous session (10 a. m. to 4 p.m.) One of the main reason of the attraction of the *patshalas* to the masses was their flexibility of school hours which allowed children to run errands and do household chores in between classes. The new school hours stopped this practice, hitting hard the children of the lower classes. The old cheap system of teaching to write with the chalk on palm, than plantain leaves, and lastly on paper, was now replaced by the use of slates and paper from the very beginning. The use of printed books (rarely used before in the *patshalas*) was now introduced from the beginning and displaced the former practice of learning to read and write simultaneously. The normal school pupils also gave decided preference to teaching arithmetic on the English method, and exercises in mental arithmetic and the native system of accounts, traditionally the strong points of *patshala* education, were now neglected and nearly discontinued. Further, money payments were exclusively levied for schooling fees previously paid partly in 'cash' and partly in 'kind'.[9]

The outcome of the changes induced by the normal school pupils was that the number of pupils in all *patshalas* under improvement fell off, most of those leaving were invariably the children of the poorer classes. The improvements effected were clearly revolutionary in so far as the old *patshalas* were concerned and the resultant impact was quite the contrary of what the author of the scheme had envisaged. The improvements practically took away from the *patshalas* those very characteristics which made it popular to the masses. Consequently, the children of the lower classes deserted the improved *patshalas.*

Bhudev Mukherjee's Improved Patshala Scheme : Grant's normal school system failed to provide for the education of the masses. Hence it again became necessary to introduce modifications for the further prosecution of the experiment. The normal school system was now reshaped on the recommendations of Bhudev Mukherjee. Bhudev had joined the Education Department in 1862 as an Assistant Inspector. Prior to that, he had served as the Headmaster of the Howrah School (1849-59) and the Hooghly Normal School (1856-62). He was thus an important educational figure of the time and well experienced in the sphere of teacher-training.

Bhudev proposed that villages where *patshalas* were already in existence, or where it might be desired to set up *patshalas,* would be invited to send for a year's training in a Normal School either their present *guru,* or some other person (preferably the *guru's* relative) whom they would undertake to receive as their future school master. Their nominee, if accepted by the Inspector, would be sent to a Normal School with a stipend of Rs. 5 per

mensem. A Model *patshala* would also be attached to the Normal School which the *gurus* under training would be required to attend in order to get a practical demonstration of the actual functioning of improved *patshalas.* No Normal School pupil would be sent to the *patshala* to depute for the *guru* as before. But during the period of the *guru's* training, some other person would be appointed temporarily to run the *patshala* on condition that he would hand over charge to the *guru* on his return from the Normal School. To ensure still greater certainty to any future operations under the scheme, it was made binding for the villagers and their noninees to enter into two distinct written agreements.[10] Table 1 illustrates the two different Forms of Agreement drawn for the purpose :

TABLE I

(a) **Form of Agreement to be signed by villagers**

We the undersigned inhabitants of the village of...thana ...zilla...do hereby certify that we have nominated...aged ...years son of...inhabitant of... village, as the future teacher of our village *patshala* ; we also hereby agree to place the said...in charge of our village *patshala* on his return with a certificate of qualification from the Government Training School. In case of the non-fulfilment on our part of the above conditions, we hereby pledge ourselves severally and collectively to pay to Government all the expenses not exceeding Rs 60 which may have been incurred in the education and training of our nominee the said...Given this day the ...of the year 186.... The signatures in this paper were made in our presence and at ...in the village of...by bonafide inhabitants of the said village.

Educational officer,

Zemindary or Police officer, ε c., ε c

Signatures of the villagers ε c., ε c.

(b) **Form of Agreement to be signed by the pupil, entering the Government Training School...for gurus.**

We who sign our names, residences, ε c., ε c., in this book do, by that act of signature, give our consent each for himself to be admitted from the dates mentioned against our names into the Training school at... on a monthly stipend of Rs 5 payable in accordance with the Rules of the Institution. We further agree by the act of signature in this book, each for himself, to return, after receiving Certificates of qualification, to the Villages whence we have been selected, and there enter upon and duly discharge the duties of Villages School Masters, on the understanding that a sum not less than our present monthly stipends vill be continued to us in the shape of

stipends or rewards as long as we shall continue to deserve them by discharging our duties in a satisfactory manner. We bind ourselves further, each for his own part by the act of our signature in this book, to pay a fine of Rs 60 into the hands of the Inspector of Schools...Division on account of Government, in case we wilfully fail to perform any or all of the above conditions.

Source : *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal*,1862-63, Appendix A, pp. 209-210.

The two forms of agreement illustrate the control that was now to be exercised by the government. The villagers were now bound to accept the government trained *guru* or pay the expenses for the training. But they would have no choice in determining what training was to be given to the *gurus*. In agreeing to accept the trained *guru*, the villagers were also agreeing to accept the changes that the government trained *guru* would be urged to introduce. The *gurus*, on their part, under their terms of contract, would have to submit to all rules set up by the Training Institute. Moreover, they would be bound to return to their nominated *patshala* and lose the freedom to opt out of the profession, or to set up or join some other *patshala* in a different village of their choice. Fine was imposed clearly to set as a deterrence to any breach of contract and to ensure total submission and control over *gurus*.[11]

Two important changes were introduced in the modified scheme. First, by providing for model *patshalas*, it gave *gurus* a chance to observe first hand what *patshalas* really ought to be as conceived by the Government, second, it stressed greater security to future operations by introducing formal agreements.

The scheme was approved by the Government of Bengal and put under the independent charge of Bhudev Mukherjee. Initial work was commenced with three Training Schools set up in Burdwan, Nadia and Jessore. The main reason which had prompted the modifications was that under the old scheme, the *patshalas* were being converted into schools frequented no longer by children of the masses but rather by pupils of the better class. The object of the modified scheme, therefore, was to remedy the situation, to improve the *patshalas* without disturbing the internal balance, i.e., ensure that the *patshala* education continued to be sufficiently practical and attractive to hold on to its lower class pupils. A careful scheme of reform was now drawn up which would retain popular characteristics of the *patshalas* and yet improve them as well.

The model *patshalas*, which were an important feature of the scheme, were to preserve as closely as possible the native *patshala* system. No benches or tables were to be used and classes were to be arranged in the palm-leaf,

plantain-leaf and paper sections. The course of studies prescribed for the training schools was arranged to meet the general requirementnts of elementary village schools. The course retained the old popular *patshala* subjects but at the same time introduced several new elements as well. Thus, Arithmetic, *Mahajani* and *Zamindari* accounts, Reading from manuscript and Writing from dictation letters, petitions, leases and agreements were retained as part of the Normal School curriculum. In addition to the above, it was now prescribed that Reading from print, History of Bengal, Geography of Bengal and India, object lessons and art of teaching, would also be taught.[12]

An idea of the actual standard attained by the *gurus* can be formed by the type of questions they were required to answer at the training school examination. Table II presents a sample question paper for Normal School examinees.

TABLE II
QUESTION PAPER FOR NORMAL SCHOOL EXAMINEES

A. History, Geography, and Accounts

1. Draw a map of the Nadia district, giving the names of the several thanahs into which the district is divided, and the courses of the several streams, and the Railway which goes through it.
2. Name the principal rivers of India, and the parts of the country through which they flow.
3. Give all the proofs that the Earth is a round body.
4. Describe the administration of Warren Hastings ; Lord Cornwallis ; Lord William Bentinck.
5. Name and describe all the different papers used in *zamindari* accounts.
6. Prepare a shop-keeper's day-book, and show how you would ledger it.

B. Arithmetic and Surveying

1. Questions on the Subhankari rules.
2. If A and B can do a piece of work in a 3 days, B and C in 5 days, A and C in 6 days, in how many days can all three together finish it ?
3. What will be the amount in 3 years of Rupees 250 lent out at compound interest at 5 percent per annum ?
4. Prove by figures the truth of the proposition, that the area of a triangle is equal to half the base multiplied by the height.
5. Show how to prepare a field book ; take an example and then explain how you will draw out a plan from it.

C. Teaching

1. The *patshala* opens and closes twice a day ; show how you will keep your registers of attendance.

2. The pupils of the *patshalas* have different lessons, while usually there is but one teacher. Say by what means all the pupils may be kept employed during all the *patshala* time, and also how you will arrange and seat the different classes.
3. What different punishments would you award for
(i) irregularity of attendance ; (ii) inattention to lessons ; (iii) use of bad language ; (iv) non-payment of fees ?

Source : *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal,* 1863-64, Appendix A, pp. 342-43.

It is evident from the above set of questions that the course was divided into three clear sections and the *gurus* were now required to learn considerably more than what they knew before. The shift was clearly towards the European school model although subjects like native arithmetic and the native system of accounts continued to be taught. In the traditional *patshala,* the chief objective was the transmission of practical skills. The inclusion now of subjects like Geography, History, and general topics like details of the shape of the Earth suggests a desire to transmit knowledge and instil a desire for learning for its own sake. The tendency towards the European school model is further reinforced by the introduction of Geometry (not taught before) and the new importance given to the proper management of the *patshala.* The *patshalas* were now to be re-organized on Western concepts as implied by the need to maintain registers of attendance, arrangement of lessons, and fixation of seating for different classes. Irregularity of attendance and non-payment of fees were now to be considered as offences to be dealt with by punishment. Discipline had always been a key point of the *patshala.* But now, for the first time, specific punishments were to be awarded of specific offences. The *guru* could no longer do as he pleased. The absolute control which he had earlier commanded over the *patshalas* was clearly slipping away and he was slowly being transformed into a mere servant of the government.

As was to be expected, the return of the trained *gurus* to the *patshalas* soon resulted in various changes being made in the internal management of the *patshalas.* The *patshalas* were now re-organized on new lines. Those *patshalas,* which had proper school house and grounds, were kept neat and clean, and regularity and punctuality of attendance strictly enforced. Maps and blackboards were also being used by some of the trained *gurus.* However, school hours for the *patshala* continued to operate as before in two sessions, forenoon and afternoon, in deference to the old practices of the people and, schooling fees, too, were collected partly in 'cash' and partly in 'kind'.[13]

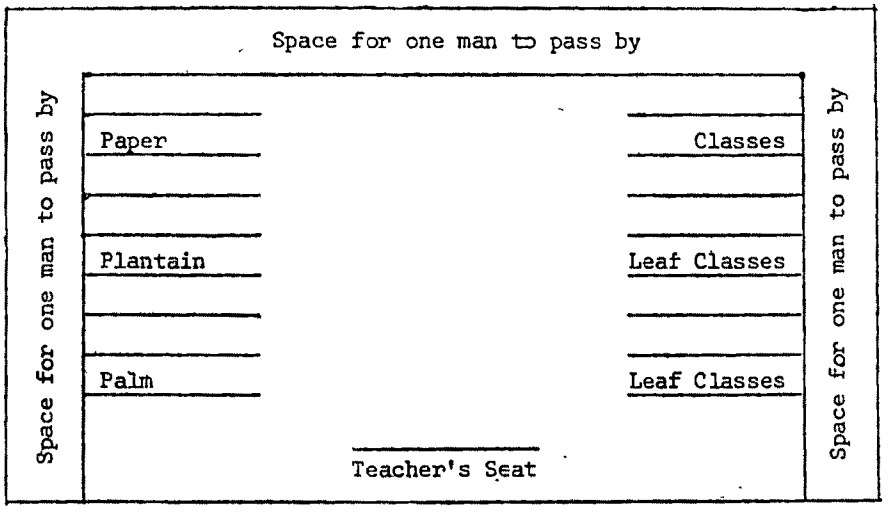
The seating arrangement of the classroom was now systematically placed to enable the *guru* to have the whole school under his vigilant eye as well

as easy access to every pupil. The following table indicates how classes were rearranged :

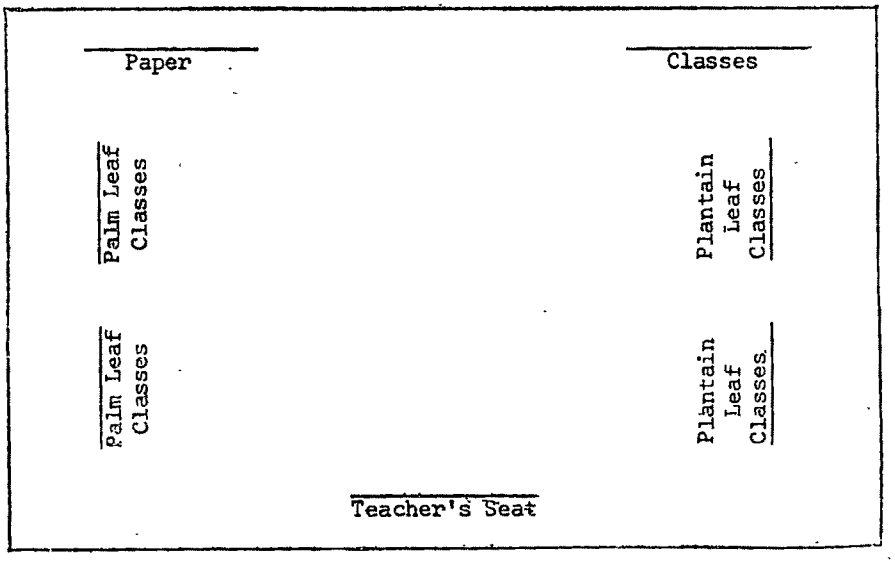
TABLE III : SUGGESTIONS FROM BHUDEV MUKHERJEE REGARDING POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENT OF CLASSES

ARRANGEMENT OF CLASSES

(a)



(b)



Source : *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal,* 1863-64, Appendix A, pp. 363-364.

Both proposals were aimed at providing the teacher with maximum access to all pupils. Further, children were now clearly grouped together into distinct classes depending on their attainments. In the past, too, *patshala* pupils had been divided into different groups based on progress, but their seating arrangements had never been systematised to the extent proposed. Classes had previously been arranged according to the ideas and needs of each individual *guru*. But this situation was now altered and *gurus* were asked to reorganize their seating arrangement in accordance to set plans offered by the Education Department.

Patshala classes still continued to be divided as before into palm-leaf, plantain-leaf, and paper and the monitorial system continued. But the lessons of the several classes were now so arranged as to enable the master to take cognizance of every lesson at school, leave time for the monitors to receive fresh lessons every day, and ensure that all pupils were kept busy during school hours.[14] The course of studies was limited in the first year mainly to reading, writing, and arithmetic. Gradually, as the class progressed, other subjects like geography and history were to be added and the use of books introduced cautiously. Table iv, illustrates the details of the new arrangement of class lessons adopted in the improved *patshalas*.

The introduction of routine of studies was a completely new innovation for the *patshalas*. The *gurus* had in the past never adhered to a fixed routine nor were their lessons ever confined to specific time periods. Every pupil,

TABLE IV : ROUTINE OF STUDIES LAID DOWN BY BHUDEV MUKHERJEE FOR POSSIBLE ADOPTION IN THE IMPROVED *PATSHALAS*

FORENOON			AFTERNOON	
6 to 7 a.m	7 to 8 a.m	8 to 9 a.m	3 to 4 p.m	4 to 5 p.m.
Writing	Writing	Writing	Reading	Object Lessons and simultaneous reading of the Tables
Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto	Ditto
Reading	Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Ditto
Arithmetic	Reading	Writing	Reading	Ditto

There ought to be manual exercises of the whole school every half hour for about 5 minutes, each pupil standing in his own proper place to do as the master dictates. The master ought himself to examine all the pupils of his school once every week to test the progress made by them in their lessons.

Source : *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal*, 1863-64, Appendix A, p. 365.

depending on ability, had always received individual treatment from the *guru.* Fixed time period and class routine simply had not mattered in the free *patshala* atmosphere where there was no annual school calendar, no fixed examination dates, and where the pupil could get promoted any time of the year if the *guru* felt that he had achieved the necessary distinction. The above routine of studies was only a sample and modification could be made if necessary. But Bhudev stipulated that the Deputy Inspector would be responsible for drawing up routine of daily studies for use in the *patshalas* of his locality to be adopted by the *gurus.*[15] This effectively meant that the *gurus* would no longer be able to conduct classes as they pleased. They were now to do as told by the directives of the Education Department.

Finally, school discipline assumed a new angle in the improved *patshalas.* The seat of every pupil was now fixed until promoted to a higher section. No students were allowed to borrow from others leaves, chalk, inkpots, paper, slates, pencils or books without prior permission of the teacher. Registers of daily attendance, never used before in the *patshalas,* were now to be maintained. Table V shows a sample of the kind of details required to be maintained by the new registers.

An examination of the Register of Attendance reveals some interesting points. All *patshala* pupils (and even their parents) were personally known to the *guru* who had never before felt the need to keep record of attendance figures. He was now, not only to keep track of total attendance absentees, but also to distinguish between Hindu and Muslim pupils. He would also now have to disclose his income officially and maintain record of total holidays. Further, the *guru* himself would have to seek permission for absenting from the school. Clearly, his authority was being undermined as he submitted to government control. The Register of Attendance was apparently devised to collect statistics for the benefit of the Education Department. It had less to do with actual improvement of the *patshala* and more with 'standardization', and obedience to authority.

All the above reforms signified considerable changes in the internal management of the *patshalas.* Care was no doubt taken to preserve some of the traditional practices of the *patshala.* But the improvements induced such as, the new arrangement of classes, daily routine of studies and regular maintenance of attendance registers were completely new concepts as far as the *patshalas* were concerned. These measures were important features of regular schools and one can hardly fail to see that these improvements would inevitably result in the eventual conversion of the *patshalas* into regular schools on the Departmental model.

The masses, however, were not impressed by the novelty of the new measures and Bhudev's compromise scheme, consisting of a mixture of some modern ideas with some old *patshala* practices, came to be appreciated more

TABLE V : REGISTER OF DAILY ATTENDANCE OF THE PUPILS AT...SCHOOL FOR THE MONTH OF..186—

Names of Pupils	Days of the month 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	...	...	31	Total Present	Total Absent	Total Holiday	No. of months in school	
															Month and Year Name of *patshala* Thana When first joined by the tutor Total numbers on the rolls Hindus Mohammadans Others Total number present Amount of fees received during the month Amount of stipend Total number of days the tutor is absent from the school Authority for the same Total number of holidays State of progress Tutor's signature Signature and date of Deputy Inspector's visit

N.B. The roll calls must be twice every day. If the boy is present only on one of two occasions it is to be indicated thus ; I being the mark for present, a boy not present in the forenoon will have the mark altered against his name thus T, a boy not present in the afternoon will be marked ⊥. Late attendance in the forenoon thus ∧, in the afternoon V.

Source : *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal,* 1863-64, Appendix A, p. 367.

by children of the better classes. A variety of causes contributed to the failure of Bhudev's scheme. As has already been pointed out, the scheme involved changes of no relevance to the needs of lower class pupils. The

shift towards the school model tended to lessen the utility of the *patshalas* for those who wanted only the skills that could be derived from the traditional model ; hence the lower class pupils began to keep away from the improved *patshalas.* The class of schools being more advanced than the old *patshalas,* the new *gurus,* while willing to commence service on the income provided for them, were soon found to be unwilling to continue to serve happily on those terms. So fresh prospects had to be provided which, in its turn, led to added expenses. Moreover, the new *gurus* being dependent on the Government for their selection, training and allowance, came now to be looked upon by the people practically as outsiders depending on outside support and hence did not receive full cooperation. And, finally, economical though it was, the new scheme led the people to lean too heavily on the government thereby making the scheme rather expensive for the government to bear.[16]

Since 1855 the attention of the Bengal government had turned towards devising some way of extending education to the masses. *Patshalas* were chosen as the means to achieving that end simply because they were cheap, popular, established in large number, and attended by children of the lower order. However, the 'circle' scheme, Grant's scheme and Bhudev's scheme all failed to achieve that objective. Considerable improvement on Departmental lines was no doubt induced but the *patshalas* failed to attract the masses. In fact, the effect of the earlier schemes had practically resulted in the desertion of the *patshalas* by the poorer pupils. In this sense, Bhudev's measures achieved limited success, in that children of the lower classes did not generally desert his improved *patshalas* although it failed to attract newcomers of the lower order to his schools. Indeed, Bhudev argued that *patshalas,* as they were then constituted, could never become vehicles of mass education exclusively and his intentions had been to improve the *patshalas* without disturbing the class composition of the pupils. In other words, in so much as the government was anxious to promote the *patshalas* for the education of the masses, Bhudev was equally keen to ensure that the upper classes did not abandon the *patshalas.* His policy, therefore, had been to improve the *patshalas* and yet ensure that pupils of all orders of life (higher and lower) continued to attend as before. As he pointed out :

> "the *patshalas* never were, and are not now, schools for the masses only. Children of the highest as well as of the lowest classes have always attended them, and continue to attend them at present. My endeavour has hitherto been to keep them in this respect what I found them. It was my aim to improve the *patshalas,* not to convert them into mass school..It has been my care, therefore, from the very commencement of operations under myself, to guard against the desertion of my *patshalas* by the children of the lower classes, and I flatter myself that my exertions have not proved unsuccessful."[17]

These remarks testify clearly that the improved *patshala* scheme did not really envisage an extension of education to the masses. The ipmprovements to be implemented were not to be geared to attract the masses but rather as a form of extending control over the *patshalas.* The improvements were in reality changes designed to alter the very nature of the traditional *patshala.* As far as the masses were concerned, the objective was to see that enrolled pupils of the lower order did not drop off from these improved *patshalas,* no anxiety being apparently exhibited in the increase of their enrolment. This was no doubt a deviation from the objective of Grant who had floated the original scheme with the idea of reaching poorer sections of the community through the *patshalas.* Bhudev believed that increased educational expenditure held the key to any chance of success in promoting education for the masses and declared that *patshalas* could never become mass schools exclusively unless the government was prepared to bear every common item of expenditure, supply books free of cost, and even provide occasional prizes to pupils in cash, or articles of food and clothing in kind, as inducements for regular attendance.[18]

In its actual operation, the improved *patshala* scheme was started in 1862 with three training schools at Burdwan, Nadia, and Jessore. By the end of 1863, one hundred and eighty two *patshalas* were brought under the operation of the scheme. The success of the scheme resulted in its expansion to six additional districts in 1864, namely, Bankura, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. One training school was set up for the first three districts and three training schools were each opened for the remaining three districts. The progress of the *patshala* scheme was naturally accompanied by increased expenditure. By 1871-72, the improved *patshala* scheme was sustaining 1801 *patshalas* containing 45, 702 pupils, costing goverment Rs 92, 112, or a little over 2 rupees per pupil.[19] Although the amount of money spent had considerably shot up from the initial grant of Rs 30,000 sanctioned to implement Grant's scheme, it was still far from what was actually needed for the successful extension of the scheme.

Lack of adequate funding plagued all schemes which had been launched to promote education to the masses. A major aim of every successive scheme had been to promote more at a lesser cost. Funding became a key issue as the government strived to develop cheaper schemes for improving education. The problem had earlier been recognized in 1859 when Lord Stanley, in his Despatch of 1859, had pointed out the necessity of levying an educational rate to meet the needs of expenditure for elementary education.

From 1865, correspondence had taken place between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal regarding the provision of funds for the extension of lower class vernacular education in Bengal. It was urged by the Central Government, that as in the other provinces, a cess should be

levied in Bengal on the proprietors of land to raise funds for the elementary education of the agricultural classes, and an opinion was expressed that the amount levied ought not to be less than 2 percent on the net assets, on gross rental of the land.[20] The Bengal Government pleaded that the Permanent Settlement had earlier fixed the land revenue to be extracted from the Province, and as the land had changed hands many times since the first settlement, there were great difficulties in the way of such fresh imposition on land as were made in other parts of India.[21] Moreover, it was held that any tax levied ought to be imposed not only on the landed classes but on other members of the community as well, e.g., business and commercial people, and the Bengal Government declared its support for a general tax on education rather than a tax upon land only.[22] The controversy was ended by the Duke of Argyll's Despatch dated 12 May 1870 and resulted in no cess for the maintenance of elementary schools being imposed on land in Bengal.

The cess controversy brings to light two interesting points. It showed that the Central Government was well aware that it was not possible to extend elementary education in Bengal satisfactorily on its present allocation of funds and hence was searching for alternative means of fund raising. The Bengal Government was, on its part, well aware of the problem and equally keen to raise funds. But it was not prepared to sacrifice the interest of the landed classes to promote the education of the masses.

The improved *patshala* scheme was mainly confined to the nine districts mentioned earlier, i.e., Burdwan, Nadia, Jessore, Bankura, Midnapur, Murshidabad, Rajshahi, Dinajpur and Rangpur. These districts belonged to the Central, North-Central, South-West and North-East Divisions of Bengal. Table VI presents a picture of the distribution of improved *patshalas.*

TABLE VI : DIVISIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF IMPROVED *PATSHALAS* : 1870-71

Division	Number of improved indigenous *patshalas*	Number on the rolls (monthly average)
Central	191	5,463
North-Central	519	13,863
South-East	1	197
South-West	476	14,797
North-East	488	10,364
North-West	16	420
TOTAL	1,595	45,104

Source : A.P.Howell, 'Education in British India', 1870-71, in *Selections From Educational Records,* Government of India, Volume I : Educational Reports 1859-71, Delhi, 1960, p. 367.

It is clear from the table that the South-East and North-West divisions were practically untouched by the improved *patshala* scheme. Interestingly, the North-East Division, composed principally of Muslims, displayed an eagerness to improvement almost on a par with the Hindu-dominated Central, North-Central and South-West divisions. This is important because Muslims had always been thought of as being less sensitive to the need of getting a secular education.[23] It indicates that the government policy of control was to be applied to both Hindu and Muslim dominated divisions and that the Muslims were now becoming slowly aware of the advantages of improved instruction.

It is not to be forgotten that the 'circle' system was still being carried on even while the *patshala* system was flourishing. The 'circle' system, as we have seen, was largely confined to the South East and Central Divisions. Thus, the 'circle' system was not extended to Northern Bengal and the improved *patshala* scheme was untried in Eastern Bengal whereas both systems were tried in Western (Central) Bengal. The following figures present a comparative picture of the progress of the two schemes :[24]

	Circle System	Normal System
1864-65	302	380
1865-66	307	539
1866-67	398	883
1867-68	336	1,213
1868-69	298	1,520

These statistics show clearly that the normal system was the dominant scheme, improving and bringing under Government control more *patshalas* and maintaining a steady level of expansion.

Conclusion : By the mid-1860s the Bengal government faced a dilemma. Its dual objective of extending education to the masses and giving an improved instruction as well was clearly floundering. The attempts to convert the *patshalas* into schools on the departmental model (which was part of the government's policy of taking over control of *patshalas*) and the opposite effect of what the government expected. It drew away the masses from these schools instead of attracting them to it. The *patshalas* had always in the past been attended by lower class pupils, and the government's reforming measures had the negative effect of driving them away from these schools and depriving them of any instruction whatsoever. In other words, the *patshalas* were being gradually converted and elevated into exclusive schools of the higher order. Even Bhudev's compromise measures failed. They succeeded in stopping the drop-out of lower class pupils but failed to attract new pupils from the lower class to his improved *patshalas.* In fact, the failure of the masses to accept the improved *patshalas* raised the debate

as to whether the *patshalas* were really mass institutions or could be developed as such. The promoters of the *patshala* scheme failed to see that the improvements proposed had very little relevance to the needs of the masses. They were expecting the masses to appreciate measures meant really for the benefit of the upper classes. Hence the failure of the scheme comes as no surprise.

The improved *patshala* scheme involved changes which affected the very nature of the traditional *patshala.* The *guru* the key figure of the *patshala,* was no longer to exercise unquestioned authority. The *gurus* seeking or submitting to Departmental patronage would have to give up the absolute control of the *patshalas* which they had enjoyed earlier. They were now required to submit to Departmental regulations which clearly spelt out what was to be taught in the *patshalas,* how it was to be taught, how discipline was to be maintained and how, in general, the *patshala* was to be made more efficient. The *guru* would now have to operate within clearly defined guidelines. He would have to conduct *patshalas,* not as he thought best, but as wanted by the Education Department. His authority was effectively undermined and he was transformed into a servant of the Department.

The government attempt at improvemtnt was limited to a very small number of *patshalas* in particular districts. By 1871-72, only 1801 *patshalas* with 45, 702 pupils had been improved.[25] It was estimated that at this time there were about 4,000,000 boys of school-going age in Bengal.[26] Clearly, the number of *patshalas* and pupils brought under the control of the Education Department and subjected to improvements was very small, and most *patshalas* continued to function as before in their old traditional manner.

Finally, in the period under consideration (1862-71), the funds available for the extension of governmental control over *patshalas* was very limited. Lack of adequate funding developed as a major obstacle for the promotion of mass education. The cess controversy showed that the government was aware of the problem but unwilling to sacrifice the interest of the landed classes. It was clear, however, that if the government really wanted to extend its control over the *patshalas,* it would have to generate more funds in this sector.

Notes and References

1. J.A.Richey (ed.), *Selections From Educational Records,* Part II, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 104-105.

2. The Central Division included Calcutta, 24-Pargana and Baraset, Nadia and Hooghly. The South-East Division included the districts of Dhaka, Faridpur, Barisal, Mymensingh, Pabna, Jessore, Comilla, Sylhet, Noakhali and Chittagong.

3. *Selections From Educational Records of the Government of India.* vol. 1, Delhi, 1960, p. 196. (hereafter S.E.R.)

4. *Ibid.*, p. 196.

5. *Report of the Education Commission,* 1882, p. 96.

6. *S.E.R.*, p. 192.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191. trcrined normal school pupils officiated during the absence of these *gurus* who had gone for training at the normal school.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 190-191.

9. Changes induced by normal school pupils are based on information given in, *Education Proceedings,* No. 51, January, 1863.

10. Details of the Normal School scheme have been taken from *Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee,* Calcutta, 1882, pp. 27-28, (hereafter BPC) ; and *Educational Proceedings,* No 51, January 1863.

11. During the operation of Grant's scheme, it was often found that many of the *gurus* who received training at the normal schools moved out to a different profession or different village in search of better emoluments. Also, *gurus* sometimes faced difficulties in returning to his old *patshala* besause the normal school pupil deputing in his absence refused to move out. Hence, contracts were drawn out as a measure of security.

12. *BPC.*, p. 28.

13. *Report of Public Instruction in Bengal,* 1863-64, Appendx A, pp. 352-362 (hereafter *RPIB*).

14. *Ibid.*, p. 364.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 365.

16. This para is based on information given in, E.L. Harrison, 'The Midnapore System of Primary Education', *Calcutta Review,* vol. 6, 1876, p. 138.

17. Cited in 'Mr. Monteath's Educational Minute', *Calcutta Review,* 1867, vol. 45, p. 425.

18. *Ibid.*,

19. Harrison, p. 147.

20. *Correspondence relative to expediency of raising an educational cess in Bengal,* pp. 34-49.

21. *BPC.*, p. 29.

22. *Ibid.* Aslo, see Buckland, pp. 439-455 and R.C. Mitra, 'Education' in N.K. Sinha, ed., *History of Bengal* (1757-1905), University of Calcutta, Calcutta, 1967, p. 442 for useful discussion on the cess controversy.

23. Muslims were generally considered to be lagging behind Hindus if getting secular education. The Muslim mass was more illiterate than the Hindus and averse to any form of change. See, R.C. Majumdar, *Glimpses of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century,* Calcutta, 1960, p. 50 ; Leonard A. Gordon, *Bengal : The Nationalist Movement,* 1876-1940, Manohar Book Service, Delhi, 1974, p. 5 ; and Marcus F. Franda, *Radical Politics in West Bengal,* The M.I,T. Press, Cambridge, Massachussetts, and London, England, 1971, p. 10.

24. *BPC,* p. 28.

15. Harrison, p. 147.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

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KAUTILYA CONCEPT OF DIPLOMACY

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Nothing is more appropriate than to say that ancient Indian diplomacy begins and ends with Kautilya. It begins because Kautilya's *Arthasastra* is but a "compendium" of all earlier *Arthasastras* ; it ends because whatever has been written after Kautilya is only a reinterpretation of his wisdom. A close look at Kautilya's views on diplomacy would therefore be in all practical terms a survey of ancient Indian diplomacy. It is with this understanding that Kautilya's contribution in diplomacy is viewed in this paper. We shall begin our discussion by considering the problems in analysing ancient Indian diplomacy. This will allow us atleast in part to understand the uniqueness of ancient Indian diplomacy and of Kautilya's diplomacy in particular. Next we shall look at the environment of Kautilya which was responsible for producing such a wisdom. This will be followed by recording the salient features of Kautilya's diplomacy. At the end we shall attempt to discern the durability of Kautilya's wisdom.

Problems in analysing ancient Indian diplomacy

The problems may be briefly stated as follows :

1. The problem of semantics. There is some truth in Rudolf Carnap's statement that 'to study any language, a metalanguage is needed...a language about language'.[1] And the truth is revealed more when we take up ancient Indian diplomacy. The words and the meanings of the ancient Indian language, Sanskrit, are so enmeshed with the environment, particularly the socio-cultural milieu, that their translation into occidental language fails to carry the same image. In the absence of a 'metalanguage' in the field of diplomacy the result would be the translation of words with similar practical applicability but holding quite different notions. To illustrate the point, the word 'diplomacy' in contemporary occidental thought originated from the Greek *diploun* meaning 'to fold' the documents into metal plates, and came by the end of the 18th century to mean the 'content' of the documents or rather 'the craft of person entrusted with an official mission by a state in its intercourse with other countries';[2] the Indian word, *Kutaniti*, originating from the Sanskrit root means however from the beginning 'the law of trickery' which seem to reflect the gist of the art of diplomacy. No doubt, western diplomacy atleast in *practice* always bore the seeds of 'guile and

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trickery'. One is reminded here of the 'heralds' of the Greek city-states who had God Hermes, the mythic figure associated with guile and trickery, as their helmsman. Also the statements of Louis XI of France that "they are all lying. All right ! Tell them bigger lies", and of Sir Henry Wotton that "an Ambassador is an honest man who is sent to lie abroad for the good of his country" come close to the above line of thinking. What is however significant and distinct is the meaning of the word from which the term *diplomacy* originated. It has little to do with the Indian word, *kutaniti.* In our present discussion we shall use *diplomacy* in the Indian sense of the word, 'the law of trickery', which would no doubt help analyse Kautilya's views on the subject more clearly.

2. The notion of Indocentric. Probably quite similar to other contemporary thought, like Chinese or Greek, the Indian thought contains the phenomenon of 'centrism' in outlook. But there is more to it. In the case of Indian thought everything seems to occur on Indian soil. What is not recorded in ancient Indian books is devoid of existence as was said of the epic Mahabharata : "If you do not find it in the Mahabharata you will not find it in the world". The same stands for ancient Indian diplomacy, and more so about Kautilya's *Arthasastra.* In Chapter I of Book I Kautilya begins by saying : "This Arthasastra is made as a compendium of almost all the Arthasastras, which , in view of acquisition and maintenance of the earth, have been composed by *ancient teachers*"[3] (emphasis mine). No doubt the 'ancient teachers' are Indians, and in that light any discussion of ancient Indian diplomacy would largely reflect the Indian perspective. The *Arthasastra* bears the *darsanas* (visions) of the ancient teachers which is naturally of and about India.

3. The influence of religion. In the Indian thought Gods and Goddesses have always been connected with diplomacy. The best illustration is found in Lord Krishna's role in the *Kurukhetra,* the legendary battle between the Kauravas and the Pandapas. It is said that Lord Krishna on Yudhisthira's (the Lord of Lords) request went to the court of the Kauravas as a special envoy. Draupadi then asked Lord Krishna what his purpose was in undertaking so hopeless a mission. Krishna replied :

> "I shall go the Kaurava court to present your case in the best light ; to try and get them to accept your demands, and if my efforts fail and war becomes inevitable we shall show the world how we are right and they are wrong so that the world may not misjudge between us."[4]

All the secrets of diplomacy are contained in this statement of Lord Krishna. It is therefore evident that ancient Indian diplomacy is heavily coloured by religious figures and symbols. No doubt Kautilya's *Arthasastra*

represents a secular view on diplomacy, but often its arguments are taken from the religious books, particularly the *Vedas,*[5] thereby complicating the division between the divine and the real. A keen analyst of ancient Indian diplomacy must take this subtle point into account. This will allow him, atleast from one perspective, to throw light on the relevance (or irrelevance) of Kautilya to the present 'changed' circumstances.

This scenario must be borne in mind in order to understand the distinct quality of ancient Indian diplomacy. It is otherwise helpful in distinguishing ancient Indian diplomacy from the modern occidental conceptualization of diplomacy ; and as such when contribution of western thinkers (Machiavelli for instance) on diplomacy could be deduced from the established mode of perception of diplomacy, the same cannot be said of Kautilya. With him, as representative of ancient Indian diplomacy, there is always the fear of misrepresentation, generalisation and abstract (almost divine) projection. We shall proceed in our task keeping this in mind.

The Environment of Kautilya

We shall *not* take up the entire socio-political milieu of the Kautilyan period i.e. of the Mauryan period, but shall concentrate only on those situations that are somewhat relevant to our present discussion. In this connection we shall also look into the level of intellectual development of the period that made Kautilya's *Arthasastra* possible to emerge. The following features of the environment of Kautilya stand prominent :

The transition from the Nandas to the Mauryas. It is now historically recorded that the Mauryan empire was built from the ashes of the Nanda kingdom. Kautilya too makes this point in his *Arthasastra.* He describes himself as Kautilya at the end of each of the hundred and fifty chapters of the work, and narrates in a verse at its conclusion the overthrow of the Nanda dynasty as one of his exploits.[6] The validity of this statement is found in the following passage of the *Vishnupurana* :

> "(First) Mahapadma ; then his sons, only nine in number, will be the lords of the earth for a hundred years. Those Nandas, Kautilya, a Brahman, will slay. On their death, the Mauryas will enjoy the earth. Kautilya himself will install Chandragupta on their throne. His sons will be Bindusara, and his son Asokavardhana."[7]

From Indian epigraphical researches it is now known beyond doubt that Chandragupta was made the king in 321 BC. It was only under him that for the first time anything like an imperial unity was established in India. However, during the transition India was divided into many competing princely states, like Italy during the 14th and the 15th century. This miniature

world of independent states needed to develop accepted rules concerning aliens, ambassadors, and other forms of international conduct.[8] In short, Kautilya's environment was one of 'turmoil and transition,'[9] and his *Arthasastra* is a prescription to face that situation.

The influence of Bhuddhism and Jainism. Both these religions began to penetrate and influence the Hindu society from the pre-Mauryan days. Their doctrine of *Ahimsa* and renunciation proved to be a menace to the rulers as they stood against the traditional values of 'rule by blood and violence'. Infact Buddhism and Jainism aggravated[10] the already present internal disorder by making "people apathetic to political and social affairs."[11] It was therefore the task of the new rulers to come up with a 'programme' that would contribute in making the people conscious of their obligation towards the state. *Arthasastra* presented such a programme to the extent of even justifying 'extralegal activities' however immoral as necessary in the practice of statecraft.

The theory of evolution of the state. One of the most important 'intellectual' development in the pre-Mauryan period was the theory of evolution of the world and of man and his institutions. This development was the direct result of early Buddhist canonists and stood as an open challenge to the Vedic dogma of divine creation of the state. Therefore, it can be safely argued that Kautilya had no trouble with the 'intellectual class' of his days in putting forward a 'realist' account of the evolution of the state. Predating the Hobbesian school of social contract theory, Kautilya uses the concept of 'Matsya Nay" (fish-law) i.e. bigger fish eating the smaller ones to justify his theory of the origin of state. According to him men troubled by the fish-law 'agreed to set up Vaivasvata Manu as king who undertook their protection from injustice in return for a sixth part of the produce from land and a tithe of the returns of trade'.[12] Kautilya also provides for the necessity of the king to be all-powerful. By putting such a 'social contract' theory Kautilya was able to project the importance of the state and of the king, and thereby justified the 'service' of the subjects 'at all cost' to the prosperity of the king whose 'power' at the end is bound to bring 'happiness' and internal stability to the state.[13]

The fear of alien invasion. Some scholars have pointed out that Kautilya was 'conscious of foreign invasion'.[14] This was quite obvious by the fact that Alexander of Macedonia came as far as northern India only years before. In response Kautilya sought an Indian king who aspires to be a *vijigisu* (one desirous of fresh conquests), for only an empire of considerable size and power and free from all internal instability could the Macedonian ambition be deterred. In this Kautilya found Chandragupta to be the *vijigisu* and thus 'guided' him to form and rule 'one of the largest empires of the ancient world.'[15]

So much for the environment. One easily finds in the milieu the rationale of Kautilya's wisdom in the *Arthasatra.* This however does not mean that Kautilya's vision remained bounded in his time. As we shall see in our following discussion, it overflowed. Modelski has put it in a better phrase : "A work of learning must detach itself from its immediate milieu if it is to endure for long. (And) Kautilya achieved this..."[16]. Before looking at the endurance of Kautilya's wisdom pertaining to our present discussion let us first survey the salient features of Kautilya's diplomacy.

Salient Features of Kautilya's Diplomacy

A careful look at Kautilya's *Arthasastra* will project the following features of his diplomacy :

The objective of diplomacy. This has to be understood in the light of Kautilya's concept of *mandala,* commonly translated as the 'circle of states'.[17] The *mandala* is besed on the geo-political assumption that the immediate neighbour-state of the *vijigisu* is most likely to be an "Ari" (enemy, real or potential) and a state next to the immediate neighbour, being by the same logic, the enemy of the immediate neighbour is likely to be one's friend, "mitra" . After the friendly or "mitra"-state comes an unfriendly state i.e. "ari-mitra" or friend of the enemy state and next to that a friendly state i.e. "mitra-mitra" or friend of a friendly state and so on. However, Kautilya in his system of *mandala* also recognised the special position of two types of non-aligned powers : (i) the *Madhyama* (literally the 'middle', but referred to as 'mediatory king'[18]). This state is one which is situated on the borders of both the *vijigisu* and his immediate enemy and is capable of helping or favouring or both ; and (ii) the *Udasina* i.e. the neutral or the detached state. This state is one which is situated beyond the territory of any of the above states, and which is very powerful and capable of helping the *vijigisu,* the *ari* and the *madhyama* state together or individually or of resisting any of them individually. In this system of *mandala* it is natural that each state assumes its neighbour to be 'unfriendly, jealous, and aggressive', and in turn always prepares for his own 'time of surprise and treacherous attack'.[19] Kautilya however argues that in this complex pattern of interstate relations 'an Indian king could hope of success only if he knew how to choose tactfully among the different classic manners of approaching neighbouring states'.[20] This is where the objective of Kautilya's diplomacy exposes itself. The different 'approaches' are noted below.

Approaching a neighbour. According to Kautilya, the real action of diplomacy in the system of *mandala* takes place through the doctrine of *Shadgunya* or six-fold policy.[21] These include :

1. Accommodation (*Sandhi*) :[22] 'whoever is inferior to another shall seek accommodation with him' ;

2. War (*Vigraha*) : 'whoever is superior in power shall wage war ;

3. Neutrality (*Asana*) : 'whoever thinks "No enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy' shall observe neutrality ;

4. March (*Yana*) : 'whoever is possessed of necessary means shall march against his enemy ;

5. Alliance (*Samshraya*) : 'whoever is devoid of necessary strength to defend himself shall seek the protection of another ; and

6. Double-Policy (*Dvaidhibhava*) : 'whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another'[23].

The ruler among all these will choose the one which seems to suit his purpose best. As Kautilya puts it that the six forms are set forth 'as their respective conditions differ'.[24] The utility of undertaking one of the forms will depend on the understanding of one's physical strength and of the need to make use of it. The *manner* in which these would be undertaken will however depend on the diplomatic fact of the concerned ruler. One additional thing that needs to be pointed out here is that all these approaches to Kautilya are not static but dynamic. Not only the ruler must take the one which reflects the 'respective condition' but the ruler must also attempt to change the 'condition' so that he can undertake a better and more favourable form. This becomes more clear when looking at Kautilya's projected 'instruments' of diplomacy.

The instruments of diplomacy. Kautilya records five of them :[25]

1. Conciliation (*Sama*) : The ruler must attempt at conciliation (also referred to as negotiations) when success in dangerous situations is minimally likely as in the case 'of troubles from sons, brothers or relatives' ;

2. Gift and Bribery (*Dana*) : The policy of *dana* is to be applied to inferior kings and discontented people with the avowed purpose of winning them without 'bloodshed'. It could take many forms like declaring gifts of land, of things, of girls in marriage and absence of fear ;[26]

3. Causing Dissensions (*Bheda*) : Kautilya points out that if troubles come from 'citizens, country people, or chiefs of the army' and if 'gifts' do not content them the policy of 'sowing the seeds of dissension' should be taken. He describes in detail the various means of causing dissension. Apart from the use of spies (to which we shall come later) Kautilya also records the use of "horses, elephants, beautiful women, and astrologers". The primary purpose is to create 'chaos and confusion' amongst the enemies so as to reduce their threat ;

4. Deceit and Pretense (*Maya* and *Indrajala*) : The ruler could undertake certain 'tactical' maneuverings to outsmart the enemy. This could range from *Shapuri* (snake charmer) type where the enemy is lulled into passivity 'by a nonaggression pact or a definition of spheres of influence',[27] to the use of majic in order to terrorize the enemy, to the point of devising

illusions (probabley 'yellow journalism' in the contemporary sense), and masking oneself (for example, to appear very religious) ; and

5. Open Attack (*Danda*) : And if all these fail to contain the neighbours (the *ari*) then the policy of coercion or open attack should be implemented. As it stands this is recommended as a 'last resort'.[28]

By using all these means, one or in combination and in accordance with the need, Kautilya argues that 'a king can recover his diminished power and a weak king can gain power and energy to fight a strong enemy'.[29] And in the skillful and strenous task of employing these means in practice the king requires in the 'official' level *duta* (envoys) and in the 'non-official' level *chara* (spies). We shall look at them separately.

The Duta (*envoy*). In the Kautilyan sense dutas 'are those who *openly* go back and forth to another king'.[30] Three types of such *dutas* are recorded by Kautilya :

1. **Nisrishtartha,** envoys possessing ministerial qualifications ;
2. **Parimitarthah,** envoys entrusted with a definite mision ; and
3. **Shasanharah,** envoys performing the service of conveyers of royal writs.

Irrespective of 'types' Kautilya puts forth a long lists of qualifications that the envoy should possess :[31]

1. By birth, the envoy should belong to the *Janapada* (a citizen of the state) and he should be of good family ;

2. Physically, he should be of good health and free from disseases ; he should be strong and capable of bearing severe hardships ;

3. Intellectually, the envoy should be a man of solid learning ; he should be well versed in the traditional science (*sastras*) ;

4. From the moral point of view, he should have a good character, be honest, and not liable to be won over by others ; and

5. In his dealings with others he should be kind and amiable, so as not unnecessarily to raise any inimical feelings.

It was hoped by Kautilya that the qualifications would allow the state to utilise the 'best men' in the objective of promoting its 'power and happiness'. This then brings us to the functions of *dutas* as recorded by Kautilya. In Chapter XVI of Book I Kautilya points out :

> "Transmission of mission, maintenance of treaties, issue of ultimatum, gaining of friends, intrigue, sowing dissension among friends, fetching secret forces, gathering information about the movements of spies, breaking of treaties of peace, winning over the favour of the envoy and government officers of the enemy—these are the duties of a *duty*",

It is therefore clear that the *duta* had a special and significant role to play in the over-all system of Kautilya's diplomacy. Of equal importance is the 'non-official' level.

The Chara (spies). In all practical terms *charas* are those who are sent *secretly* to another ruler's country. Kautilya classified them according to the varied nature of their disguise :

1. **Kapatikachhatra :** in the guise of a fraudulent disciple ;
2. **Udasthita :** in the guise of a recluse ;
3. **Grihapatika :** a householder spy ;
4. **Tapasa :** in the guise of an ascetic practising austerities ;
5. **Vaidehaka :** a merchant spy ;
6. **Bhikshuki :** a woman ascetic, who has access to king's harem ; etc.

All these varied types of *charas* were maintained 'for purposes of intellingence and estimating the state of the opponent's elements of power, and for fomenting dissension and maintaining contact with the disaffected'.[32] The primary objective being to 'know' the enemy before undertaking a particular policy (from the many that have been stated above) that would bring success. In this light *charas* are an important 'agent of diplomacy'.

The Inviolability of the diplomat. An important feature of Kautilya's diplomacy is the prerogatives enjoyed by an envoy. The king was required to ensure the personal safety of the *duta.* The following account in the *Arthasastra* illustrates the point :

> "To him (i.e to the king who is displeased with his message) he should say ; 'Envoys actually are their kings' mouthpieces, yours and others' as well. Therefore, if they speak as they have been told, notwithstanding the fact that weapons have been raised against them, even the lowest among them should not be killed. How much less, then, the brahmana ! Theirs are the words of somebody else. Such are the envoys duties'."[33]

This tradition however was not one of Kautilya's innovations but was in practice from the pre-Kautilyan era. Kautilya found its importance largely because without them i.e. their safety in foreign courts it was impossible to conduct the various policies that he formulated for the state in the projected system of *mandala.*

The Arrival of an envoy at the Foreign Court. We find in the *Arthasastra* illustrations about the way the *duta* ought to be received by the foreign king : 'He (the king) should approach the envoy of the neighbouring king, together with his assembly of ministers.'[34] It records the importance given to the formal means of inter-state relations. However, what is more important is the presence of the 'assembly of ministers' depiccing the existence of the advanced stage of 'open diplomacy'. In this context it can safely be pointed out that the 'ministers' participated in formulating the general strategy of the state in relation with its neighbours. Kautilya's place in Chandragupta's court bears the testimony.

The Sanctity of Agreements. Kautilya refers to two distinct types of agreements : (i) those that are entered into in seclusion, inside houses, in the dead of night, in forest, in secret or with fraud ; and (ii) those that are concluded within the hearing of others.[35] He regards the former as 'void' and the latter as 'valid'. However, it seems that there is scope for misinterpretation here. By looking at the distinction one might be tempted to conclude than Kautilya was against 'secret diplomacy'. But this was not the case. According to Kautilya, those agreements that are entered into by spies should be regarded as valid. The contradiction could be resolved by focusing on the aspect of 'fraudulence'. Kautilya believed that those agreements that were not public and 'openly arrived at' were liable to be fraudulent. But as spying itself was a 'fraudulent business' those who were conducting such an agreement would naturally be 'extra-cautious' of its offectiveness and therefore chances of maintaining the sanctity of the agreement remained strong. In sum, Kautilya makes the distinction in order to caution the concerned parties against fraudulence. This is because he views a genuine treaty of peace to be inviolable. This is also necessary in the kind of diplomacy that Kautilya advises the *vijigisu* to enter into. Without such 'genuine agreements' it would be an immense task for the *vijigisu* to carry out his efforts of 'winning over' the neighbours.

These are the central themes of Kautilya's diplomacy, but certainly not its complete picture. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* is an immense work and a further detailed account could bring into light more and more general themes of Kautilya's diplomacy. Even then the account that have been narrated so far should be sufficient in understanding the key elements of Kautilya's diplomacy.

Conclusion : The Relevance of Kautilya to the Present day World

The relevance of Kautilya may be summed up as follows :

1. **The 'realist' account of diplomacy.** Kautilya was explicit about the way diplomacy should be approached. The state should set its diplomatic efforts according to the 'power' it possesses. It the 'power' of the state undergoes change i.e. becoming weak or strong, the 'efforts' must also change accordingly. This relation of power with diplomacy is unique and still a continuing phenomenon. Modern' 'realists' have time and again pointed out this aspect. Morgenthau, for example, puts forward four tasks of diplomacy in which 'power' and 'diplomacy' are essentially fused together :

> "(i) Diplomacy must determine its objective in the light of power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. (ii) Diplomacy must assess the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives. (iii) Diplomacy must determine to what extent these different objectives are compatible with each other. (iv) Diplomacy must employ the means suited to the pursuit of the objectives."[36]

That tasks (i) and (ii) reflect the Kautilyan wisdom : "it is power that brings about peace between any two kings : no piece of iron that is not made red-hot will combine with another piece of iron"[37] remain obvious. Quite justifiably it could be stated that Kautilya's fusion of 'power' with 'diplomacy', vividly illustrated in the doctrine of *Shadgunya* or six-fold policy, stands out to be one of the oldest attempts towards a 'realist' approach to diplomacy.

2. **The relation between Foreign Policy and Diplomacy.** In Kautilya's *Arthasastra* it is very difficult to draw a clear line between the two. Whether he was conscious of such a 'line' can of course be argued. But Kautilya seemed to have stressed that *diplomacy* is not only a vehicle of implementing a state's foreign policy, it is often the 'policy' itself. This is however when we take foreign policies of states to mean very broadly 'actions, or strategies for action, on the part of their governments designed to terminate, reduce, sustain, or expand co-operation and conflict', or, in Padelford/Lincoln's words, "the totality of (a state's) dealings with the external environment."[38] That Kautilya saw in diplomacy mostly 'actions' (or 'dealings') can be well verified by the fact that the tasks Kautilya recommends are solely for the *success* of the *vijigisu* in the latter's campaign to build an empire. No doubt such utility of diplomacy has been carried down to the present age. Probably the closest, though simplified, analogy would be to look at Hitler's foreign policy and diplomacy. With Hitler, as with Kautilya, the one supplements the other.

3. **The 'distrust' of the neighbour.** The broad proposition that prompted Kautilya to postulate his theory of *mandala* is still in vogue. There are few neighbours in the world today who can claim themselves to be totally free from 'distrust' of their neighbours. Though relations with 'neighbours' today may not be the major pre-occupation of the diplomatic efforts of all states, but it is certainly one of the central issues to be dealt with. And with the 'distrust' inherent in the relation, 'extra-care' is needed in order not to let it blow up. It is interesting to note here that even modern arms race theories (Prisoner's Dilemma, Richardson's theory, in particular) have largely been based on the 'distrust' notion.To take Richardson's two-nation of arms race[39] ;

$$\frac{dx}{dt} = ky - \alpha x + g$$

Where y is the amount of armaments of the second side, x is the amount of the first side, $\frac{dx}{dt}$ is the rate at which the first side produces arms. The ve constant k is called the defense co-efficient, while the ve is called the fatigue and expense co-efficient. And most important is g, the *feelings* of the first side to the second side. The worse the relationship, the greater will be the arms race, as the value of g increases. That the increase/decrease of the

value of g is largely a matter of 'distrust' inherent in a two-nation relations need no explanation. This is evident by the fact that the superpowers arms control negotiations (SALT I, SALT II, START) have particularly centered around in the task of *minimising* "mutual distrust", which otherwise could set-off an Armageddon-fated arms race. Wherein lies the utility of diplomacy is crystal-clear—the system of *mandala* has but fashionably theorized it.

4. **The Essence of the so-called 'Bismarckian diplomacy'.** There is a remarkable similarity between Kautilya's *Dvaidhibhava* (Double-Policy) and Bismarck's system of diplomacy.[40] Their approach of countering neighbours seems to follow the same principle ; not to have hostile relations both in the rear and in the front. In this light Kautilya's *Dvaidhibhava* as a part of his system of *mandala* could provide us the conceptual ground of analysing the Bismarckian pattern of diplomacy. Bismarck was very particular in 'isolating' the enemy before an attack was made by coming into terms with his other neighbours,[41] and this largely contributed to the prowess of the German nation in the European thearte ; in contrast both Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler in allowing enemies to crop up on both sides[42] met with failure in their respective war-strategies. The events show the timeless utility of Kautilya's *Dvaidhibhava*, one but needs sheer political acumen to practice it.

5. **The classification of diplomats.** It is to be noted that the classification of diplomats in modern times resembles remarkably the one given by Kautilya. Article 14 of the Vienna Convention On Diplomatic Relations, 1961, divides the heads of mission into three classes :[43]

> "(a) that of ambassadors or nuncios accredited of Heads of State, and other heads of mission of equivalent rank ;
> (b) that of envoys, ministers and internuncios accredited to Heads of State ;
> (c) that of *Charge d' affaires* accredited to Ministers for ForeignAffairs."

It is evident that both *Nisrishtartha* and *Parimitartha* are represented by class (a) and (b). Shamasastry had even translated, no doubt questionably, Kautilya's *Nisrishtartha* into *charge d' affaires.*[44] The ingenuity of Kautilya remains obvious.

6. **The utility of the espionage system.** In the modern period this has come to be viewed as essential. Probably every state that can afford has an intricate net-work of espionage to help formulate its poicies. Kautilya recognised this as a 'crucial element' in his diplomacy. This however was not uncommon amongst the ancient theorists. As early as fifth century BC, Sun Tzu wrote : "Spies are a most important element in war because upon them depends an army's ability to move".[45] Little seems to have changed since then regarding its utility. The modern world is now filled with intelligence agencies both domestic and external, the existence of which has almost become a part of life.

7. **The concept of 'open' and 'secret' diplomacy.** The end of World War I has been the dividing line between 'secret' and 'open' diplomacy in the occidental diplomatic thought. Almost at the same time the Soviet Government through the Decree of Peace and Woodrow Wilson through his much-publicised Fourteen Points announced in favour of 'open' diplomacy[46] and called for a halt of all 'secret' dealings between nations that were in vogue in the pre-World War I Europe. But such pronouncements belied facts. Woodrow Wilson himself entered into secret agreements with Italy, and Stalin for the seemingly tactical reasons entered into secret agreements with Hitler that is said to have precipitated World War II. Even to day there is no dearth of evidences regarding the use of 'secret' diplomacy. Kissinger rose to prominence largely because of his ability to perform Metternich in the twentieth century. However, it must be pointed out here that 'open' diplomacy particularly in the form of Parliamentary/Conference/Summit diplomacy[47] has recently gained wide acceptance to the point of opening a new era in the system of state-to-state relations. Kautilya was explicit about both these concepts. He recognised their use in different situations in quite a similar fashion that is practised tody.

8. **The basic functions of a diplomat.** Modern diplomacy has come to recognise from basic functions of a diplomat : *representation, protection. observation and reporting*, and *negotiation*.[48] Kautilya has referred to all these functions long before. He pointed out the 'representation' part of a diplomat by saying : "Messengers (here, the diplomat) are the mouthpieces of kings, not only of thyself, but of all..."[49] That the task of negotiation ought to be given serious thought by the diplomat did not miss Kautilya's wisdom : "(the diplomat) shall start on his mission, thinking that 'the enemy shall be told thus ; the enemy will say thus ; this shall be the reply to him ; and thus he shall be imposed upon'."[50] Even the task of observation and reporting was pointed out by Kautilya quite in detail : "he may try to gather...information by observing the talk of beggers, intoxicated and insane persons or persons babbling in sleep, or by observing the signs made in places of pilgrimage and temples or by deciphering paintings and secret writings. Whatever information he thus gathers he shall try to test by intrigues."[51] Of course, the modern diplomat would find it difficult to perform such 'extraordinary' tasks, nevertheless the idea itself is still in vogue. To help the diplomat perform the 'basic functions' Kautilya states a list of privileges (already mentioned in the discussion above). This has been carried down to the modern age, however with an increased addition of such privileges.[52]

The list of the points of relevance may even be longer. It is indeed remarkable to think that a man whose wisdom ruled his time thousand years before would endure so long. Is it because of the notion of *magna est veritas, et praevalebit* i.e. the truth is great and shall prevail ?

Notes and References

1. Rudolf Carnap, *Introduction to Semantics,* Cambridge : Harvard University Press, 1948.

2. A good account of the evolution of western diplomacy is found in Adda B. Bozeman, *Politics and Culture in International History,* Princeton : Princeton University Press, 1960.

3. Kautilya's *Arthasastra,* tr. by Shamasastry, Bangalore : Government Press, 1956, p.1.

4. Qt. from Panikkar, *The Principles and Practice of Diplomacy, London* : Allen, 1956, p. 3.

5. It is worth pointing out here that Kautilya was a firm believer in the *Brahminical* theory of the Universe and a strict adherent to a social system founded on *Brahminical* religion and custom.

6. Kautilya's *Arthasartra, op. cit., p.* vii.

7. The passage is quoted from the Preface of Kautilya's *Arthasastra, ibid.*

8. Forest L. Grieves, *Conflict and Order,* Boston : Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977. p. 55.

9. Mahadevan, "Kautilya on the Sanctity of Pacts", *The Indian Yearbook of International Affairs* (1956), vol. v., p. 344.

10. This was only to change with the rise of Asoka who later became the chief exponent of Buddhism.

11. Mehta and Thakkar, *Kautilya and his Arthasastra,* Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1980, p. 10.

12. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, *History of Philosophy : Eastern and Western,* London : George allen & Unwin Ltd., 1952, pp. 111-112.

13. George Modelski, "Kautilya : Foreign Policy and International System in the Ancient Hindu World", *The American Political Science Review,* (September : 1964). p. 551.

14. Vide, Krishna Rao, *Studies in Kautilya,* Bombay : Asia Publishing House, 1958, and also Mehta & Thakkar, op. *op. cit.*

15. Ghosal, *A History of Indian Public Life,* Vol. II, Bombay : Oxford University Press, 1966, p. 285.

16. Modelski, *op. cit.,* p. 550.

17. A graphical account of the *mandala* is found in Bozeman, *op. cit.,* pp. 122-123.

18. Modelski, *op. cit.,* p. 554.

19. Bozeman, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

20. *ibid.*

21. Mehta & Thakkar, *op. cit.,* p. 64.

22. The author agrees with Modelski that Shamsastry's translation of *Sandhi* into "Peace" is not appropriate. The closest is 'accommodation'. Vide, Modelski, *op.* cit., p. 552, fn. 8.

23 Kautilya's *Arthasastra, op. cit.,* p. 293.

24. *ibid.*

25. In some translations there are seven. *Maya and Indrajala* are viewed separately, and *Upeksha* (indifference) is also viewed as an instrument. The latter has a close link with the *Udasina* state already cited, and the line between *Maya* and *Indrajala* is very thin to recognise. This prompts the present author to divide and state only five.

26. Metha & Thakkar, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

27. Bozeman, *op. cit.,* p. 123.

28. Kautilya's *Arthasastra, op. cit.*, pp. 411-412.

29. Mehta & Thakkar, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

30. Ludo Rocher, "The 'Ambassabor' in Ancient India", *The Indian Yearbookx of International Affairs* (1958), vol. VII, p. 347.

31. A detailed account is found in Ludo Rocher, *ibid.*

32. Modelski, *op. cit.*, p. 556.

33. Kautilya's *Arthasastra, op. cit.*, p. 30.

34. *ibid.*, p. 43.

35. Mahadevan, *op. cit.*, pp. 345-346.

36. Hans J. Morgenthau, *Politics Among Nations*. Calcutta : Scientific Book Agency, 1969, p. 519.

37. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (1915 edition), p. 333.

38. Padelford & Lincoln, *The Dynamics of International Politics,* London : The Macmillan Company, 1970, p. 195.

39. Paul Smoker, "Fear in the Arms Race : A Mathematical Study", in Rosenau, ed., *International Politics and Foreign Policy,* New York : The Free Press, 1969, p. 574.

40. In simple terms, to have peace with one neighbour when attaking another.

41. Hartmann, *The Relations of Nations,* New York : The Macmillan Company, 1968, pp. 343-347, 368-369.

42. Kaiser Wilhelm II and Hitler both alienated France and Russia. This contributed to their strategic blunder.

43. Ian Brownlie, ed., *Basic Documents in International Law,* Oxford : The Clarendon Press, 1967, p. 116.

44. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (1915 Edition), p. 34.

45. James Clavell, ed., *The Art of War by Sun Tzu,* London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1981, p. 7.

46. In 1917 the Soviet Decree of Peace stated, "a firm intention to conduct all negotiations quite openly and before the entire people", and in 1918 Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points included : "Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there will be no private understanding of any kind,but diplomacy shall proceed frankly and in the public view". Such pronouncements heralded the spirit of 'open' diplomacy.

47. For a close look at the forms of open diplomacy, vide, Forest L. Grieves, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-337. Also, Padelford & Lincoln, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-337.

48. Vide, Padelford & Lincoln, *ibid.*, pp. 321-324.

49. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* (1915 Edition), p. 35.

50. *ibid.*, p. 34.

51. *ibid.*, p. 35.

52. For a documentary evidence of a diplomat's privileges, vide, Ian Brownlie, ed., *op. cit.*, "Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations", pp. 112-127.

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THE NOBLE EIGHTFOLD PATH AND THE BUDDHIST LAYMAN

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In the First Sermon delivered at Saranath in Beneras the Buddha declares :– 'There are two extremes, O monks, which the man who has given up the world, aught not to follow—the habitual practice, on the one hand, of those things whose attraction depends upon the passions, especially of sensuality,– a low and vulgar way (of seeking satisfaction), unworthy, unprofitable and fit only for the worldly minded,—and the habitual practice on the other hand, of ascetism (or self-mortification) which is also sinful, unworthy and unprofitable. There is a middle path, o monks, avoiding these two extremes discovered by the Tathagate,—a path which opens the eyes and bestows understanding, which leads to peace of mind, to higher wisdom, to full enlightenment, to Nirvana.[1] That is to say, the Noble Eightfold Path to wit :—(1) Right Views, (2) Right Resolve, (3) Right Speech, (4) Right Action, (5) Right Livelihood, (6) Right Exertion, (7) Right Mindfulness & (8) Right Concentration.

The Noble Eightfold Path can be followed by realising the Four Noble Truths (Cattari Ariya Saccani), namely, Dukkhas (Suffering), Samudaya (Origin of suffering), Nirodha (Cessation of Suffering) and Magga—the way leading to the cessation of suffering. Knowledge consists in the right understanding of the four items of truth, dukkha being taken as a type. As the Dhammapada (MaggavaggaXX) says :

> 'Maggan' tthangiko settho saccanam caturo pada,
> Virago Settho dhammanam dipadanaca Cakkhuma'.

Among the paths the Noble Eightfold one is the best, among truths the Four Noble Truths are the best, among all states of consciousness, dispassionateness is the best, and among man, he who has the eye of knowledge (i.e. Buddha) is the best.

> In the Mahaparinibbana Sutta, the Buddha says :
> "By not seeing the four noble truths as they really are,
> long is the path that is traversed through many a birth ;
> when these are grasped, the cause of birth is
> then removed, the root of sorrow rooted out, and there
> is no more births."[2]

Prof. Rhys Davids observes, "for the first time in the history of the world, it proclaimed a salvation which each man could gain for himself in

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this world during this life, without the least reference to God or gods, either great or small.[3]

The Noble way is the path for the realisation of Nibbana, the ultimate goal of the Buddhists. Though Nibbana (Nirvana) cannot be described in terms of human expression, yet the early Buddhist books are replete with endless love-names for it. It is emancipation, the Island of Refuge, the End of Craving, the State of Purity, the Supreme, the Transcendental, the Uncreate, the Tranquil, the Enchanging, the Unshaken, the Imperishable, the Ambrosia, the Nectar, 'the Going Out', the Serene etc. It is a joy born of an inward peace of the mind that can never be shakenoff, that can never be ruffled. Rhys Davids says "it is the Christian equivalent tc the advent of the kingdom of Heaven within a man, the peace that passeth understanding."[4]

Nibbana has double gain, negative and positive. Negatively it is a guarantee that rebirth whose conditions are destroyed, will not take place and consequently there will be an end of future misery. Positively considered it is an attainment of perfect peace and bliss herein this life which cannot be shaken. It is, therefore, beyond worldly pleasure and pains and so it cannot be described in terms of ordinary experiences.

The eight parts of the noble way are :-

(1) Right Views (Samma-Ditthi) : It is defined as the correct knowlege of the Four Noble Truths and not a theory of speculation about the self and the world which is termed wrong views (miccha-ditthi). As ignorance (avijja) is the root cause of all our sufferings, the first step towards the acquisition of knowledge (panna) is naturally the knowledge of the Four Truths (Cattari Saccani). It is the knowledge of these four items of truths which will alone lead us towards the ultimate goal of Nirvana.

(2) Right Resolve (Samma-Sankappa) : It is the firm determination to renounce all attachment to the world, to get rid of hatred to other and refrain from doing any harm to them. These three constitute the firm or right resolution.

(3) Right Speech (Samma-Vaca) : It consists in abstaining from lying, slandering, using harsh words, vain and frivolous talk. It is rather the control of our speech, to translate into action the right resolve which cannot remain a 'pious wish' only.

(4) Right Action (Samma-Kammanto) : It consists in right or good conduct in abstaining from killing, stealing and immoral gratification of the sensual pleasures.

(5) Right Livelihod (Samma-Ajiva) : It consists in maintaining oneself by a proper means of existence i.e. honest calling. It amounts to say that one cannot resort to forbidden means even for the sake of maintaining one's livelihood.

(6) Right Effort (Samma Vayama) : It consists in the endeavour to maintain the moral progress by eradicating all evil thought and strengthening good ones in a fourfold way, i.e. an earnest effort should be made to check the rise of immoral states that have not yet arisen and those that have arisen, to produce the moral states that have not arisen and to strengthen those that have already arisen.

(7) Right Mindfulness (Samma-Sati) :

It consists in the fourfold prescribed mode of mindfulness[5], to contemplate body as body, sensation as sensation, mind as mind and mental states as mental states i.e. to remember constantly the things as they really are their perishable nature. Whatever has its origin has got the inherent quality of dissolution. It means the constant contemplation of the frail, perishable and loathsome nature of all things, which help us to remain free from attachment towards them and grief over their loss.

(8) Right Concentration (Samma-Samadhi) : It consists in the successful practice of the prescribed mode of from the first to the fourth stage.

The essentials of the Noble Eightfold Path or the Buddha's ethical teaching may be conveniently divided into these three main divisions viz. Sila (Morality), Samadhi (Concentration) and Panna (Insight)

A—Sila (Morality) (1) Right Speech (2) Right Action, (3) Right Livelihood.

B. Samadhi : (4) Right Effort, (5) Right Mindfulness, (6) Right Concentration

C. Panna (Knowledge) (7) Right Resolve, (8) Right Views.

The Eightfold Noble Path has been poetically described in the Samyutta--Nikaya (I Devat Samyutta) as follows :—

> 'Straight is the name that road is called, and 'free
> from fear' the quarter whither thou art bound.
> Thy chariot 'is the silent runner' named,
> With wheels of righteous effort fitted well.
> Conscience the learning board, the drapery
> is headfulness ; the driver is the norm,
> I say, and right views, they that run before,
> And be it woman, be it man by whom
> such chariot doth wait, by that same car
> into Nibbana's presence shall they come.[6]

While the Upanishad teaching says that there is an individual soul (Atman) which transmigrates from birth to birth till it is finally united with the Brahman (Universal), the Buddha's teaching propounds that there are only the five aggregates (Panchaskandhas) and when these are analysed, we do not find any soul (Individual or Universal) inside them which can fly out from one existence to another till it is finally liberated. What we find

in the five aggregates is the root of desire (Tanhanasaya) which is the impelling force for rebirth. The five khandas disintegrate at death and assemble together again through the impelling force of desire (Tanha)

The perfect freedom is achieved when this desire is conpletely and totally discarded. This is the state of Nibbana (or Nirvana) the perfect peace which is unshaken and unruffled by the ups and downs of the world. It has been described by a smile of fire. Just as a lamp is extinguished when there is want of oil and oil-stick, so also Nibbana is a state where all fire (of hatred, of lust and delusion) is extinguished. In the Khuddaka-Patha, it is stated as follows : 'Nibbanti Dhira Yathayam Padipo'—The wise one attain Nibbana just as the extinction of fire in the lamp.

Furthermore, the destiny of those who have attained Nibbana cannot be determined as to what direction they have gone. Just as the direction of the flock of birds flying in the sky cannot be ascertained as they do not keep their footprints in the air, so also the man who has attained Nibbana cannot be ascertained as to what direction he has gone, whether North, South, East, west, Nadir or Zenith.

'Akase va sakuntanam padam tassa duranvayam'
phusanti dhira nibbanam yogakkhenam annuttaram[7]—

The wise ones realise Nibbana which is an unparalled place of safety and security. 'Sunnato animitto ca vimokkha yassa gocaro'—etc.

Nibbana is Sunna (void) ; Animitta (without any cause and condition) which is Moksha freedom or emancipation whose places of wanderings are void, without any nimitta or sign which is called liberation of Moksha.

It is the state absolutely undisturbed by cares and anxieties, free from rebirth and consequently from all kinds of woes and afflictions due to complete extinction of Tanha or craving. This state of consciousness can be achieved by leading a righteous life which consists in the Noble Eightfold Path (Ariya Tthangiko Maggo). The Dhamapada (Appamaca Vagga) syays :—Pamajja-bahulo bhikkhu pasanno Buddhasasane, Adhigacchepadam santam sankha-rupasamam sukham—The monk who takes delight in the teachings of the Buddha attains to that peaceful state after destruction of bodily elements. (Sankharas). It is in the Mulapariyaya-Sutta (M.N.I) that we get a clear philosophical explanation of Nibbana, The Mulapariyaya-Sutta establishes beyond doubt that the worldly objects have no real permanent substance. It enumerates the objects in a gradual order thus :—(1) The four great elements (Mahabhutas) (2) The several forms of existences from the lowest to the highest. (3) All things whatsoever seen, heard, thought or known, (4) All characteristics of identity, difference and entirely and lastly (5) Nibbana is the highest state of bliss. Buddhaghosa interprets this Sutta as an explanation of Anatta doctrine. The object to this Sutta, as it appears to us, is that the truth or real Nibbana is beyond all concepts and as such, it

can only be distinguished as that which is not any one of the worldly things known to us (not this, not that, of the Upanishads Neti, Netis). In the Dhammapada, as already stated, Nibbana is held out to be the happiest prospect of human life. It is characterised as the tranquil state of mind (Santiparam Sukham) which is attained or experienced when the aspirant is entirely free from passion, hatred and delusion ; in fact, all kinds of pain, and when he feels the fulness of life in contentment, health and self-confidence in short perfect peace and bliss. Nirvana as such, is the highest conceivable religions and ethical state which is attainable in this very life.

A great number of expressions used with reference to Nibbana. Thus Nibbana is called the Void, the Unconditioned, the Abstract, the Uncreated, the Infinite, the Eternal, the Formless, the Invincible and so on and so forth, and its common synonym is Nirodha—cessation or extinction. There are other metaphysical aspects of Nibbana, which, however, is not the point here. But Nibbana is not annihilation of individual or the absolute extinction of being. It is full of pleasure and delight, full of peace and bliss as the Dhammapada says [Bhikkhu Vagga] :—Superhuman is the bliss of that Bhikkhu who, when he has entered a secluded spot and has quietude of mind, discerns the doctrine aright. He who continually reflects on the origin and disappearance of the five groups (Khandhas), is full of zest, and contentment as he realised the immortal (Amata), or again in the Dhammapada (Sukhavagga) which says :—

"Let us live happily free from hatred among those who are full of hatred ; among men burning with hatred, let us live happily with hearts full of love (Dhammapada Verse-197). Mrs. Rhys Davids points out that Nirvana is nothing but diminishing of the vicious and weak in the man which is the negative aspect of his positive advance in becoming.[8] (To become or not to become that is the question, London, 1937). Some scholars have translated the word Nibbana as 'Ambrosia'—'immortality', perfect beautitude, Sumum Bonum ; 'the Nectar' 'etc. The literal meaning of the word 'Nibbana is Nibbapeti' that which is extinguished i.e. extinction of lust, hatred and delusion (Raga, Dosa and Moha) as clearly pointed out in the Sanyutta Nikaya (IV, 251). R.C. Childers points out[9] that Nibbana is used to designate two things :-(1) the state of blissful sanctification called Arahatship and (2) the annihilation of existence in which Arahatship ends. It is called Lokuttara Samkhatan.[10] It is excellent, uncreated and it is free from lust. (Nibbanam pana lokuttara samkhatam catumagga-namena sacchikatabbam magga-phalanam alambana-bhutam. Vana-samkhataya tanhaya nikkhantatta nibbanam ti pavuccati.....Asamkhatam anuttaram nibbanam.....Vana-muttati).

There is a Sutta in the Samyutta Nikaya (iii, 257) named Bhara-hara Sutta i.e. taking of the burden of load. That is to to say that the laying down of the burden is by rooting out craving and thus attaining Nirvana.

"The burden verily are the five Khandhas,
The burden taking is the individual,
Grasping the Khandas is pain in the world ;
Laying down the burden is happiness.
When he has laid the heavy burden down,
And has not taken up another burden,
And has drawn out craving with its root,
Free from hunger he has won Nirvana".

In the Kathavatthuppakarana-atthakatha (J.P. T.S. 1889, p. 198) Nibbana has been described as a void (Sunnato) (cf. Dhammapada Verse-93). In the Atthasalini (P 409), Nibbana means that from which the arrow of desire is removed (Tanhasamkhatam vanam niggatam va tasmavanati). It is the cessaton of all sufferings (Sabbadukkha upasama samkhata). We find that Nibbana can be attained through meditation (Jhana), wisdom (Panna), precepts (Sila). steadfastness (Araddha-Viriya) etc. We all know that an Arhat attains Nibbana. Arhatta is, therefore, synonymous with Nibbana.

Next comes the question whether a layman can attain Nibbana. In the Anguttar-Nikaya (III p. 451, Cf. Vinaya 1, 17 ; Sanyutta V, 94, Dhammapada commentary 1, 308 ; The questions of king Milinda, 11,5,7,90,245 etc), we find mention of 21 lay Arahants. [Chahi bhikkhock Jhammehi samannagato bhalliko gahapati.....Sudatto gahapati anatthapindiko..... Citto gahapati macchikasandiko.....Hatthako alavako...Mahanama sakko... ugga gahapati vesaliko.....Uggatagahapati... .....Suro ambattho.....Jivako komarabhacco...Nakulapita gahapati...Javakanniko gahapati.....Purano gahapati Isidattagahapati.....Sandhamo gahapati.....Vijayogahapati.....Vajjiyo mahito gahapati mundako gahapati vasittho upasako...Arittha upasako saraggo upasako .....Tathagate nitthingate amataddaso amatam sacchikatvairiyati] Rhys Davids calls them layman Arahats"[11] In the Katha-Vatthu[12] we find that Yasa kulapatta householder Uttiya and young Brahman Setu attained Arahatship in the circumstances of life in the laity.[13]

The Milinda-panha distinctly mentions that Nagasena in reply to the question put to him by Menander points out that whether he be a layman or recluse, he who attains to the supreme insight, to the supreme conduct of life, he too will win his way to the excellent condition to Arahatship. [Gihi pi maharaja samma patipanno aradhako hoti nayam dhanmam kusalam, pabbaji to pimaharaja samma patipanno aradhako hoti nayam dhammam kusalam.][14]

It is clear from the above passage that a householder if he leads a religious life may obtain Arahatship which is Nibbana. The Milinda-panha further points out that whoseoever has attained, as a layman, to Arahatship, one of the two courses is left to him and on other—either that very day he enters the order or he dies for beyond that day, he cannot last. [Yogihi arahattam patto dve va assa gatiyo bhavatti ananna tasmim yeva divase pabbajati va parinibbayati va, na so divaso sakka atikkametum.]—Millnda-panha pp. 264-265,

Some are under the impression that it is very difficult rather impossible for a householder deeply engrossed in wordly affairs, to observe these rules when strictly followed for the attainment of Nirvana or Arahatship. But the course of conduct to be followed by a Buddhist laity is preserved for us in the Gahapati-Vaggas of the different Nikayas.

There are two fervent utterances in the 'Udana (VIII, 1-3) which speak of the hidden glories of Nibbana :—

There is the stage (Ayatana) where there is neither earth nor water, nor fire, nor wind, nor the stage of an infinity of space, nor the stage of nothingness, nor the stage of neither consciousness nor non-consciousness, neither this world, nor the other world, nor sun and moon. These monks, I say there is neither coming nor going, nor staying, nor-passing away, nor arising ; without support or going on or basis is it. This is the end of pain.

There is an unborn, unbecome, and unmade, an uncompounded ; if there were not, there would not be an escape from born, the become, the made, the compounded. But because there is an unborn, an unbecome, an unmade, an uncompounded, therefore, there is an escape from the born, the become, made and the compounded.

Cf : Yattha apo ca pathavi tejo vayo na gadhati,
na tattha sukha jotanti adicco nappakasati ;
na tattha Candima bhati, tamo tattha na vijjati.
Yada ca attana vedi muni monena brahmano
atharupa arupa ca sukhadukkha pamuccati ti ;

The Buddha utters this solemn utterance at the attainment of Parinibbana by Bahiya Daruciriya in the Bahiya-Sutha of the Udana 1,6,10 :—

There water, earth, fire and air have no footing. There neither the stars nor the sun shines forth. The moon does not shed lustre and there is no darkness. We find a similar description of this state in the Mundaka-Upanishad with some variations indeed :—

"Natatra surya bhati na Candra tarakah, Nema vidynto bhanti, kuto ayam agnih ! tameva bhantam anubhati sarvam tasya bhasa sarvam idam vibhati."	The sun does not shine there ; neither the moon, nor the stars. There these lightnings shine not, how then this fire ? Because, he shines, everything shines after Him. By his light this shines.

But while in the Upanishad verses stress is laid on the omnipotent personal 'He, the Pali Verse makes an impersonal approach and emphasises self-realistion, whereby one gets rid of the influence of Sukha-dukkha and Rupa Arupa as well. The difference of conception is noteworthy. It may be

observed that the observance of the Uposatha (Sabbath) by the Buddhist laity does not lead to the attainment of Nibbana, but to the attainments of Sagga or heaven.

The Attangiko Uposatha is described as follows :—

Do not kill, do not steal, do not tell a lie, do not be a drunkard, refrain from unchaste life and do not eat after mid-day, do not use garland, scents and unguents, stay on mat spread on the ground, this is called the Eightfold Sabbath declared by the Buddha to make an end of 111 (Suffering).

The Anguttara Text (IV, pp. 254, 259, 261) describes the merits of keeping the Upasatha (Sabbath) as follows :—

> Let him not kill, nor take what is not given,
> nor utter lies, nor of strong drink partake ;
> but from unchastity, let him abstain,
> nor eat at night, nor at unfitting time,
> nor wear a garland, nor use scents, but stay
> on a mat spread on the ground. This the sabbath,
> great Eightfold, of a kind to make an end of 111
> by the englightened one proclaimed.
> The moon and sun, the sight of which is sweet
> moved to and fro, shed radiance there they move.
> Scatter the gloom and gliding thro' the sky,
> make the clouds lustrous, lighting every quarter.
> within this space all manner of wealth is found,—
> pearl, crystal beryl, luck-stone,
> (Like Cowhorn (singi)—Commentary)
>
> And lustrous gold and that called hataka [=comy, hataka, gold carried off by ants.]
> Yet are they not worthy one sixteenth part
> of a Sabbath with its precepts eight complete :
> Nor is the bright moon with its hosts of stars
> therefore the women and the men devout
> who keep this Sabbath with precepts eight,
> performing merit fruitful of results,
> In the heaven world are born without reproach.[15]

In the Vattupama-Sutta of the Majjhima Nikaya (1,36, ff), the Buddha says that just as a five piece of cloth is dyed red, blue, green or yellow as one desires it, so also the mind becomes polluted by comming in contact with the influx of impurities from outside (agantukadosehi). But even as a dirty piece of cloth dyes badly, so in an impure mind bliss is not to be found.

Sundarika Bharadvaja, the Brahmin asks the Buddah if he has bathed in the Bahuka River. The Buddha then gives a list of places whose water are considered holy and declares that the real cleansing is the cleansing of the heart :—

In Bahuka, at Adhikakkha's Ghat,
Gaya, Sundarika, Payaga – there the fool
may bathe and bathe, yet never cleanse his heart.
Of what avail are all these Ghats and streams ?
They cleanse not heart or hand of guilt.
For him whose heart is cleansed, each day is blest,
each day is hallowed ; pure of heart and mind,
he hallows each new day with vows renewed.
So hither, Brahmin, come and bathe as I :
Love all that lives, speak truth, slay not nor steal,
no niggard be, but dwell in faith, and then
why seek Gaya ? Your well at homes' Gaya.[16]

A similar varse is uttered by the Buddha in the Jatila Sutta in the Udana V, 9) :—Na udakena sucihoti bahvetthanhayati jano, yamhi saccanca dhammo ca, sosuci so ca brahmano—one is not purified by ablution, though many people bathe in sacred waters. But he who is truthful and righteous he is pure and he is the true Brahmana. Similar varses are to be found in the Theragatha (1,5) and the Theragatha (1,9) etc.

The Sigalovado-Sutta of the Digha Nikaya (III 183) which is said to have been delivered by the Buddha at Rajagaha to the house-holder's son Singalaka describes in detail the duties of a rightminded householder towards parents, wife and children, friends and relatives, servants and menials, teachers and pupils alike. The Sutta has rightly been characterised as the Vinaya for the householders (Gihi-Vinaya) in direct contradistinction to the discipline for the monks (Bhikkhu Vinaya). The Sutta exemplifies the customary Hindu mode of saluting the six cardinal points and bow Buddha read an ethical meaning into this mechanical practice of the Brahmin rituals which is more elaborately expressed in the verses of Maigala Sutta in direct contravention to the Brahminical ritual of auspicious acts (Mangala Kavya).

Once the Buddha was staying at Veluvana in Rajagaha. During his round for alms he saw the householder's son Sigalaka rising at dawn, with wet hair and garments, worshipping the six quarters of earth with clasped hands lifted upwards. On being asked by the Buddha he said that he was worshipping the quarters as instructed by his father on his death-bed in order to avert evils from the six directions—the East, South, West, North, Nadir and Zenith. The Buddha pointed out to him that the six quarters are not to be worshipped as such but properly looked upon as follows :—

Parents as the East, teachers as the South, wife and children as the West, friends and companions as the North, servants and menials as the Nadir and religious teachers and Brahmins as the Zenith.

In five ways a child should serve his parents as the Eastern quarter thus :—'I shall maintain them as I have been cherished by them, keep up the lineage of the family, and make up periodical offering to the dead spirits.

The parents thus served by their child in the Eastern quarter love him in five ways :—They restrain him from vice, encourage him in virtue and train him to a vocation, arrange suitable marriage for him and handover the inheritance in due time. Thus the Eastern quarter is protected by him and is made safe and secure.

In five ways the teachers should be served as the Southern quarter by the pupils by rising (from their seat in salutation) by waiting upon, by earnestness, by personal service and by attention when receiving his teaching. The teachers thus served by their pupils as the Southern direction love their pupils in five ways ; they train him in that wherein he will be well-trained, they make him hold fast what is held, they instruct him in the love of every art, they speak well of him among friends and companions and they provide for him safety in every quarter. Thus the Southern quarter is protected by him and made safe and secure.

A wife should be served by her husband as the Western quarter, by respect, by faithfulness, by handing over authority to her and by providing her with ornaments. In five ways thus served by her husband as the Western quarter, a wife loves him in five ways ; by performing her duties well, by hospitality to his kin of both, by faithfulness by watching over the goods he brings and by skill and industry in discharging all her business. Thus the Western quarter is made safe and secure.

A householder should serve his friends and companions as the Northern quarter by generosity, courtesy, benevolence, by treating them as he treats himself and by being as good as his word. In five ways thus served by the householder his friends and companions love him in five ways : They protect him when he is off his guards, they become a refuge in dangers, they do not forsake him in troubles and make others respect him. Thus the Northern quarter is made safe and secure.

In five ways a noble master serves his servants and working people as the Nadir by assigning them work according to their strength, by providing them with food and wages, by tending them in illness, by sharing with them unusual delicacies and by granting them leave at times. Thus served by their master the servants and menials love him in five ways :--they rise before him and lie down to rest after him, they are content with what is given to them. They do their work well and they carry about their master's praise and good name. Thus the Nadir is protected by him and made safe and secure.

In five ways the clansman should serve recluse and Brahmin as the Zenith, by affection in act, speech and mind, by hospitality and by supplying them with temporal needs. Thus served by the householder as the Zenith the recluse and Brahmins show their love for him in six ways :- they restrain him from evils, encourage him in virtues, they love him with pure mind,

teach him in that what he has not been taught and they reveal to him the way to heaven. Thus the Zenith is made safe and secure.

Thus it has been made abundantly clear that the duties of a pupil towards his teacher and vice versa is reciprocal as in the Vinaya (discipline) prescribed for the monks and nuns, culminating to the mutual benefit of both—the teacher and the pupil as well. It is thus evident that the duties of a right-minded householder consist in the proper fulfilment of all duties and obligation towards his parents, wife and children, friends and relatives, teachers and pupils, servants and menials alike. That is to say, to all his surroundings with which a clansman is surrounded in his family life, quite apart from the life of a religious recluse in homeless life. This is more elaborately expressed in the verses of the Mangala Sutta in the Sutta-Nipata as well as the Khuddaka-Patta, in direct contradiction to the Brahminical ritual of 'Mangal Kavya' or auspicious acts or performances. The Mangala Sutta sets forth what constitutes the best 'Mangala' to a man while living in the household life. While the Mahamangala Jataka (No. 453) presents us with the popular Brahminical acts of Mangala the tone and spirit of the Buddhist teaching is found in the Mangala-Sutta. Many gods beginning from the Bhumma-Devas to the Catumaharajakas including Sakka, the lord of the gods and men were vexed with the question :—what constitutes the best Mangala ? Many gods and men have devised blessings saying for happiness on earth, but they could not find out the true blessings on earth. Vexed with the problem at last Sakka approached the Buddha to solve the problem. The Buddha said that not to associate with fools, but associating with the wise men worshipping those that are worthy to be worshipped, living in a suitable country, a thorough investigation of one's own self, learning and skill, discipline and pleasant words, waiting upon father and mother, protecting wife and children and harmless profession, charity, liberality, supporting the relatives, perseverence, reverence and humility contentment and gratitude, listening to the sermons at times, patience and forbearance, holding religious conversations with the recluses, in due seasons, austerity and chastity, discernment of the four noble truths and realisation of the highest good Nibbana—these are what constitute the greatest blessing on men and gods. Those who are unpurturbed by the ups and downs of life, but remain firm in sorrow and grief, free from all deprivations and defilements being safe and secure by having done such things as above, are always undefeated (invincible) in the world and walk safely everywhere where they go ; this is indeed their highest blessings, as the Dhammapada says (183) :—

'Sabbapapssa akaranam, Kusalassa upasampada
Sachittapariyodapanam – etam Buddhana Sasanam.
Of alls in the avoidance, of mind the purification ;
Of merit, the acquisition, this is the Buddha's admonition.

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THE ROLE OF THE ACTIVE INTELLECT IN THE ETHICS OF AL-FARABI

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I

Happiness is the central problem of *al-Farabi's* ethics. It mainly consists in virtue, and virtue is of two kinds—moral and intellectual. Intellectual virtue is based on tntellect which is the special property of human beings. It helps man in the attainment of happiness. Since intellectual virtue is based on the intellect of human beings and helps in the attainment of happiness which is the central problem of ethics, there is a good relationship between intellect and ethics. *Al-Farabi's al-Tanbih 'ala Sabil al-sa'adah, Risalat fi-al-'Aql, Fusul al-Madani* give indications about the good relationship of the intellect with virtue.

Virtue has not only a relationship with the intellect, it has also a relationship with the Active Intellect. Before determining the relationship of virtue with the Active Intellect, let us see the nature of the Active Intellect.

II

There are four kinds of intellect according to *al-Farabi*—the potential intellect, the intellect in act, the acquired intellect and the Active Intellect. The Active Intellect is an external power which is the last and lowest of the series of ten intelligences emanating from God. It rouses the latent powers in man and makes him active. It is due to this intellect that man receives perfection through gradual development of the intellect and the faculties of the soul. It is to be mentioned here that the nature of the Active Intellect is quite different from other intellects as the former three are human intellects while the Active Intellect is not human intellect, it is purely spiritual in nature. The Active Intellect is to be called the Faithful Spirit and the Spirit of Holiness which may be identified with Gabriel.[1] It is the connecting link between the world of phenomenon and the world of noumenon.

Human knowledge depends on the Active Intellect for its perfection. The Active Intellect stands in the same relation to human intellect as the sun to our eyes. Our eyes depend on day light for sight ; and in the same way, our intellect is capable of comprehension only when it is unvalied by the Active Intellect which illuminates its way.[2] Human intellect achieves perfection through the Active Intellect and "when human intellect achieves its substance comes close to the being of the Active Intellect."[3]

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III

Now the question is : what is the function of the Active Intellect : how does the Active Intellect give perfection to man and what is the position of man when he achieves perfection ? The function of the Active Intellect is to rouse the human intellect from potentiality to actuality and it is due to this Active Intellect that ultimate happiness can be known through the theoretical rational faculty.[4] The Active Intellect also gives perfections to be human being. The process of giving perfection is as fallows : The Active Intellect gives perfection to man in the following order. We know that man has five faculties of soul : the nutrative, the sensative, the appetitive, the imaginative and the rational. All the faculties of the soul should be examined for the attainment of perfection. In order to receive perfection from the Active Intellect, it is necessary to have proper application of the sensative, the appetitive and the imaginative faculties of soul. These faculties prepare the ground for the rational faculty to receive perfection from the Active Intellect. At first, the Active Intellect gives to man the principle of primary knowledge and first intelligible which belong to the rational part of the soul. But before receiving the primary knowledge and intelligibles from the Active Intellect, he should develop the sensative and the appetitive faculties of soul so much so that they can give rise to the desire and aversion that adhere to the sensative part of the soul. This desire or inclination is related to body of man which in turn helps in the formation of the first will out of the sensative and appetitive faculties of soul.

IV

After the rise of the first will through the development of the sensative and the appetitive part of the soul, the imaginative part of the soul starts functioning giving rise to another desire in order to form a 'second will' in man. This 'second will' is nothing but a desire which follows from the imaginative part of the soul. So, up to this stage, man has 'two wills' the first one is out of the sensative and the appetitive faculties of soul and the second one out of the imaginative part of the soul. After the development of these two wills, primary knowledge emanates from the Active Intellect to the rational part of the soul which gives rise to the third kind of will which is known as choice.[5] This choice belongs only to man while the two kinds of will as mentioned above are shared by both man and animal.

After describing the origins of the choice, *al-Farabi* now begins discussing the functions of choice in determining good and bad things and seeking happiness and unhappiness. He says that it is choice by which man seeks happiness as well as unhappiness and due to the exercise of the choice, man will be held responsible for his actions, either in getting reward or punishment. It is by this choice that man is able to do either good or bad,

So choice has a great role in virtue and vice and for the attainment of happiness as well as unhappiness.[6]

From *al-Farabi's* Al-Siyasah, it appears that choice is the joint product of the sensative, the appetitive, the imaginative and rational parts of the soul with special inspiration from the Active Intellect.

As a Muslim philosopher *al-Farabi* was quite aware of the controversy between the Jabarites and the Quadarites on the problem of freedom of will. Perhaps, by establishing the relationship of choice with the Active Intellct, he was trying to make a reconcilation between absolute freedom of will and predestination. It is a new approach in the field of morality which is different from Aristotle's concept of morality.

Al-Farabi discusses the nature of good and evil. Whether a thing is good or bad is to be determined in its relation to happiness. Every thing that helps in the attainment of happiness is good and that which obstructs the way of happiness is evil.[7] The good that is useful for the attainment of happiness may be something which exists by nature, and that comes into being by 'will'. Similarly the evil that obstructs the way to happiness may be something which exists by nature and that comes into being by 'will'. Here the question is how voluntary good comes into being and what is the role of the Active Intellect in producing it and how it is related to happiness. Voluntary good originates in man due to proper application of the faculties of soul related to ethics and through inspiration and direct help from the Active Intellect. The process of originating voluntary good is as follows : It is through the theoretical-rational faculty that man is able to know what happiness is.[8] When a man has the knowledge of happiness through the rational faculty of soul, then he should have happiness with the appetitive faculty and then think over it by the rational faculty with a view to formulating some principle of actions.

After that he should exercise his power of the sensitive and imaginative faculties in order to materialise the principle discovered through deliberation. In addition to this, his sensitive and imaginative faculties should follow the instruction of the rational faculty and help him doing such actions by which happiness can be attained. This is the process by which voluntary good comes into being.[9] It is to be noted here that happiness can be perceived by the theoretical rational faculty of the soul only when it strives to understand it.[10] Of course, good action, deliberation and proper application of all the faculties of soul are essential for the attainment of happiness.

Now, what would be the nature of man at the stage of attainment of happiness ? When a man achieves perfection through the Active Intellect at that time, his nature becomes different. It is therefore a separate from man...in some manner man becomes united with it (the Active Intellect) when it is intellected by him...it becomes clear that it is intellected by man

only when he is not separated from it by an intermediary. In this way, the soul of man itself becomes this intellect.[11] From this passage it can be understood that when a man becomes closer to the Active Intellect, at that time, he receives happiness and it also suggests the union of soul with the Active Intellect. Now the question is whether such a union is possible in this world or in the next world. On this issue, *Al-Farabi's* philosophy of Aristotle is not clear as it does not say categorically when the union is possible. But the sentence "it is intellected by man only when he is not separated from it by an intermediary"[12] gives some hints that such a union is possible in this world as if it is a state of ecstacy when man is free from the bondage of the body. But the union of soul with the Active Intellect in this world is imperfect and incomplete. Complete union, complete perfection and ultimate happiness will be attained in the world hereafter.[13]

On the basis of the above discussion, it may be said that the union of the soul with the Active Intellect is possible in this world as well as in the next world and consequently happiness is possible in this world as well as in the next world. It is to be mentioned here that the worldly happiness is partial while happiness in the hereafter is complete ; as if *al-Farabi* is praying to God. "Our Lord Give us good in this world and good in the Hereafter."[14]

V

Al-Farabi is a Muslim philosopher. He believes in the necessity of providence of God as well as in the power of acquisition for the attainment of happiness. He brings the concept of the Active Intellect into the field of ethics with a view to representing the fact that just by moral and intellectual virtues, a man cannot claim for the attainment of happiness ; he needs some inspiration and guidance from supernatural power. The Active Intellect as an agent of the Ultimate being gives perfection to the human beings. So, presenting the Active Intellect in the field of morality and ethics, *Al-Farabi* seems to represent a balanced view about the attainment of happiness.

VI

The relation of the Active Intellect with choice, voluntary good and happiness clearly shows that there is a great role for the Active Intellect in the ethics of *al-Frabi* ; and from the foregoing discussion, it is also clear that by presenting the Active Intellect in the field of morality, *al-Farabi* formulated his concept of ethics on the basis of his own ideology which is different from Aristotelian tradition. Thus it may be said that happiness consists of virtue and virtue is the joint product of good action, excellence of discrimination and as well as the inspiration to be received from the Active Intellect.

Since happiness can be attained through virtue and since the Active Intellect is related to virtue in general and to the origin and development of voluntary good and choice in particular, so there is a great role played by the Active Intellect in the happiness of human beings. Since ethics is concerned with human happiness and since the Active Intellect lays a great role in human happiness, there is a good relationship of the Active Intellect with happiness.

It is true that the theory of *al-Farabi* concerning the intellect is based on Aristotle. In his book 'Risalat-fi-al-'Aql, he refers to Aristotle's Nichomachean ethics ; metaphysics and De-anima.[15] But it is to be mentioned here that the concept of the relationship of the Active Intellect with ethics is *al-Farabi's* own contribution. In the ethics of Aristotle, there is no trace of the relationship of the Active Intellect with virtue and happiness. In the opinion of D.W. Hamlyn, the scope of the Active Intellect in the philosophy of Aristotle is limited to metaphysics only as he says "there is no indication in his words that the Active Intellect plays any role than that of a metaphysical ground for the actualization of the potentialities which make up the soul.".[16]

Notes and References

1. *Al-Farabi, Al-Siyasah al-Madaniyyah* ed. F. M. Najjar, (Beyrouth, 1964) p. 32.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35 ; *Al-Farabi,* Risalat fi-al-'Aql, ed. Maurice Bouyges (Beyrouth, 1938) p. 25.
3. *Al-Farabi.* Falsafat Aristutalis, Eng. Tr. by Muhsin Mahdi, The Philosophy of Aristotle in *Al-Farabi's* Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle (New York, 1962) p. 98.
4. *Al-Farabi, Al-Siyasah al-Madaniyyah,* p. 73.
5. *Al-Farabi, Al-Siyasah al-Madaniyyah,* p. 71-72.
6. Ibid., p. 72.
7. *Al-Farabi, Al-Siyasah al-Madaniyyah,* 9. 72.
8. *Ibid.,* 72.
9. *Al-Farabi, Al-Siyasah al-Madaniyyah, p.* 73.
10. *Ibid , pp.* 73-74.
11. *Al-Farabi,* Philosophy of Aristotle, p. 98.
12. *Al-Farabi,* Philosophy of Aristotle, p. 98.
13. *Al-Farabi, Risalat fi-al-'Aql.* p. 31.
14. Qur'an, 2:201.
15. *Al-Farabi, Risalat-fi-al 'Aql,* pp. 3-4.
16. Aristotle. De-Anima. Eng. tr. by D.W. Hamlyn, Oxford, 1978, p. 140.

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IMAM NAJM AL-DIN AND HIS CONTRIBUTION

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Imam al-Hadith al-'Allamah Muhammad b. Ahmad b. 'Ali b, Abi Bakr Najm al-Din al-Ghaiti was born in first decade of the tenth century A.H.[1] The exact date of his birth is not known, but in the opinion of Khair al-Din al-Zirkili, Najm al-Din al-Ghaiti, the celebrated mystic-scholar of Egypt, was born in the year 910/1504.[2] He was a native of village Abu al-Ghait in the district of Qalyub in the Eastern side of the Dametta about two k.m. South of al-Kharqaniyyah.[3]

His longevity is not without parallel. Among his illustrious contemporaries, such as 'Abd al-Wahhab b. Ahmad al-Sha'rani (d. 973/1565), Muhammad Badraddin al-Gazzi al-Shafi'i (d. 984/1576), Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Haskafi, the Imam of Masjid al-Aqsa (d.971/1565), Imam 'Allamah Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Abi 'L-Lutf al-Shafi'i (d, 993/1585), Muhammad b. Muhammad Qadi Muhibb al-Din b. Ayyub al-Shafi'i (d. 995/1585), Faqih 'Allamah Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Bahnasi (d. 987/1579), Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Khattab al-Hambali (d. 992/1584), Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Samadi al-Shafi'i (d. 994/1585), and Shaikh al-Islam Muhammad b. Muhammad 'Allamah Abu 'L-Fath al-Maliki (d. 975/1567) all of whom died at the age of seventy one or more.[4]

Besides these luminaries, the following eminent contemporaries of Imam Najm al-Ghaiti, at least, must be mentioned for they had exerted a lasting influence on the subsequent development of the various branches of knowledge including theology, jurisprudence, mysticism, philosophy, philology, literature, history and geography :

Shaikh 'Allamah 'Imad al-Din al-Dimashqi (d. 986/1578), Imam 'Allamah Muhammad b. Ibrahim Ibn al-Hambali (d. 971/1563), Qadi Ibn al-Hamarawi (d. 976/1568), Imam 'Allamah Shaikh al-Nahrawi (d. 991/1583), Imam Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tarablusi (d. 999/1590), Muhammad b. Ahmad Ibn Abu 'L-Jud (d. 982/1574), Muhammad b. Hasan al-Su'udi (d. 999/1590), Shaikh Abu 'L-Fath al-'Ustuwani (d.987/1579), Shaikh 'Allamah Ibn Dirham wa Nisf (d. about 980/1572), Sufi Ibn Qaisar (d. 975/1567), Munla Muslih al-Din al-Lari (d. 957/1559), Shaikh Baha 'al-Din al-Misri al-Nahwi (d. 990/1582), 'Allamah Imam Shams al-Din Abu 'Abd Allah al-'Alqami (d. 989/1581), al-Shaikh al-Islam Imam Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Bakri al-Sadiqi (d. 994/1585), Imam Muhammad b. Abi 'L-Wafa' Kamal al-Din al-Misri (d. 973/1565), Imam 'Allamah Muhammad al-Khatib al-Sharbini (d. 977/1569),

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Imam Shams al-Din al-Safadi (d. 990/1582), Shaikh Muhammad al-Shimshini (d. 978/1570), Qadi Abu Bakr al-Arbili (d. 970/1562), Shaikh Abu Bakr Taqi al-Din Ibn al-Dubah (d. 985/1577), Abu Bakr b. Muhammad al-Sahyuni (d. 995/1585), Ahmad b. Muhammad Shaikh 'Allamah Shihab al-Din al-Haskafi b. al-Munla (d. 1000/1591), Imam 'Allamah Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Ghazzi (d. 983/1575), Imam Shihab al-Din Ibn Hajar al-Haithami (d. 994/1566), 'Allamah Shihab al-Din al-Muqri' al-Tibi (d. 994/ 1585), Shaikh al-Islam 'Allamah Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Tibi al-Shafi'i (d. 979/ 1571), Shaikh Imam Ahmad Nuri Afnadi (d. 978/1570), 'Allamah Khatib Ahmad Na'imi (d. 998/1589), Shaikh Shihab al-Din Ahmad al-Dajami (d.969/ 1561), Imam 'Allamah Ahmad al-Faiuji (d. 981/1573), Imam 'Allamah Munla Asad al-Shiraji al-Shafi'i (d. 998/1589), Imam 'Allamah Mufti Isma'il al-Nabulusi (d. 993/1585), 'Allamah Hasan al-Safadi (d. 990/1582).[5]

Al the time of his birth the 22nd Burji Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Qansawh al-Ghawri was the ruler of Egypt. Though the country was politically unrestful, but he was brought up in the peaceful academic atmosphere and cultural environment of his native land surcharged with an unblemished Shafi'ite orthdoxy which he nourished and upheld throughout his life. He received good education in different fields of Islamic Sciences under several eminent scholars, most of whom were shafi'ites : (i) Shaikh al-Islam Qadi Abu Yahya Zakariyya b. Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Ansari al-Shafi'i known as Sniki[6] (d. 926/1520); (ii) Ahmad b. Ahmad b 'Abdal-Haq al-Sambali al-Misri al-Shafi'i, known as Shihab al-Din[7] (d. 995/1586) ; (iii) Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Abu Bakr b. Ali b Ayyub al-Maqdisi al-Misri al-Shafi'i, known as Abu Ishaq Burhan al-Din Ibn Abi Sharif[8] (d. 932/1517) ; Abu 'L-'Abbas Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Hamzah, known as al-Ramli al-Ansari[9] (d. 961/1563) ; (v) Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Rahman, known as Shaikh Abu al-Hasan al-Bakri[10] (d. 953/1545) ; and (vi) Shaikh Amin al-Din Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Abd al-'Aziz al-Futuhi, known as Ibn Al-Najjar[11] (d. 972/1564).

We have very limited resources at our disposal to give a fair account of Imam Najm al-Din's life. For reasons unknown, the famous biographers and historians do not mention him in their works. On the other hand, the authors of the Shafi'ite Tabaqat spends more space in eulogising him than in detailing the account of his life. It is, therefore, extremely difficult to draw up a chronological sketch of his life. However, we are grateful to the authors of the Shafi'ite Tabaqat and Professor Brockelmann, who have given, at least, a list of his teachers and the books he studied with them and enumerated his works.[12]

Imam Najm al-Din studied under the most erudite scholars of his time. They exerted profound influence in spreading Shafi'ite creed in the middle eastern part of the then Muslim world especially in Egypt. They were not

merely theoretical doctors of Islamic Sciences but most of them were great authors and jurists and some of them were chief justices of Egypt in different times.

Teachers of Imam Najm al-Din

Shaikh al-Islam Qadi Zain al-Din Abu Yahya Zakariyya b. Muhammad b. Zakariyya al-Ansari, known as Sniki after the small village, Snikah, in the province of Sharqiyyah where he was born and grew up. He was a learned teacher of Imam Najm al-Din. He recived his higher education in the Azhar in Cairo and belonged to the school of Imam Shafi'i. He was a most renowned scholar of Jurisprudence (Fiqh), Law of Inheritance (Faraid), Qu'ranic exegesis (Tafsir), Prophetic Tradition (Hadith), the Science of recitation of the Holy Qur'an (al-Qira'at wa 'L-Tajwid), Sufism, Grammar and Syntex and Logic and argument (al-mantiq wa 'L-Jadal). He was born in Snikah in 826/1423 of a very poor family, grew up there and then went to Cairo and received his education there. When the fame of his moral excellence and virtue spread far and wide people continuously visited him and brought gifts to present to him. So he purchased a large number of books and helped his disciples with knowledge and wealth. He was appointed to the post of Chief Justice by Sultan Qaitba'i the Circassian (826/1422—901/1495) and he only accepted the appointment after the Sultan's insistence. He gave up his post because of the Sultans impious activities. He lost his eye-sight in 906/1500 but he continued teaching till he died in Cairo on 4th Dhu 'L-Hajjah in 926/1519. Al-Ghazzi reports in al-Kawakib that he wrote about 41 books including the "Sharh Alfiyyat al-'Iraqi" and "Sharh Minhaj al-Wusul ila 'ilm al-'Usul" of al-Baidawi.[13]

Ahmad b. Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Haqq Shihab al-Din al-Misri, known as al-Sambati, was a great scholar and was knowledgeable in many kinds of Islamic Sciences (musharik fi anwa' min 'L-'Ulum). He was a teacher as well as a fellow of Imam Najm al-Din. Among his compositions : Commentary on Risalah al-Mardini fi al-'amal bi'L-Rub'al-Mujib, Sharh al-Basmalah by Zakarriyya al-Ansari, Rawdat al-Fuhum bi Najm Niqayah al-'Ulum by Suyuti. (He then explained Rawdat al-Fuhum and named it "Fath al-Hayy al-Qayyum bi Sharh Rawdat al-Fuhum wa 'L-Niqayah"), Izhar al-Asrar al-Khatiyyah fi hall al-Risalah al-Jaibiyyah, and Sharh al-Qasidah al Ham-Ziyyah al-Mada'ih al-Nubuwwah.[14]

Ibrahim b. Muhammad b. Abi Bakr b. 'Ali b. Ayyub al-Maqdisi al-Misri Abu Ishaq Burhan al-Din known as Ibn Abi Sharif, was a learned teacher of Imam Najm al-Din. He was born in Jerusalem in 836/1433 and was brought up there . He completed his education in Cairo. He was a jurist and theologian and one of the leading personalities of the school of Imam Shafi'i. He became the first authority on legal decisions (fatwa)

in Egypt. He became Chief Justice in Egypt in 906/1500 but held the post for less than a year. He lived on the revenue of a soap factory (masbanah) of his own in Jerusalem. He died in Cairo in 923/1517 during the time of al–Mutawakkil 'ala' llah and the Caliph led funeral prayers for him. He wrote many books in both prose and poetry including a commentary on "Al-Minhaj" in four volumes on jurisprudence, a version in poetry of "Al-Nukhbah" of Ibn Hajar and a commentary on 'Al-Tuhfah" of Ibn al-Haim on law of inheritance (al-Fara'id).[15]

Abu 'L-'Abbas Shihab al-Din Ahmad b. Ahmad b. Hamzah al-Ansari, known as al-Ramli, was born in Ramlah in the Manufiyyah Province of Egypt. He was a teacher as well as a fellow of Imam Najm al-Din. He was a jurist and follower of the school of Imam Shafi'i and a student of Qadi Zakariyya al-Ansari. He died in Egypt in 957/1550. He wrote several books in different subjects.[16]

Shaikh Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi (d. 1061/1651) the author of the "*Kawakib al-Sa'irah bi a'yan al-mi'at al-'ashirah*[17] writes of Imam Najm al-Din :

"He was a companion of my father in attending the classes of Najm al-Din al-Gaiti's father and the lessons of Qadi Zakariyyah al-Ansari with whom he read al-Bukhari in full and heard from him all the Sahih of Muslim. He also read under him the Sunan of Abu Da'ud except for a small portion at the end, dying before completing it He also studied with him a portion of the Holy Qur'an according to the seven different readings up to the verse *Wa 'ula'ka hum' L-muflihun.*[18] He received from him (Qadi Zakariyya al-Ansari) the garment of Sufism (al-Khirqat al Tasawwuf).[19]

"He studied with Shaikh 'Abd al-Haqqal-Sambati the complete Sunan of Ibn Majah and al-Muwatta' and also read under him several lessons from the opening chapters of sunan of Abi Daud and al-Tirmidhi. And he also studied the Sharh al-Minhaj of al-Mahalli (d. 864/1459) up to the chapter dealing with conditions of prayer (bab Shurut al-Salat) according to the permission granted to him by its author up to the chapter of transgressors (Kitab al-bughat) of the above mentioned book. He also read with him from Sharh al-Tasrif of al-Taftazani (d. 793/1390) according to the permision given to him by al-Taqi al-Haskafi (d. 894/1489), who received it from the learned man for Herat Munla Shams al-Din al-Hajiri who heard it from its author. He also received from him (Zakariyya al-Ansari) some lessons on the commentary of the Qur'an and the Shatibiyyah and the Alfiyyah of Ibn Malik (672/1274). He was permitted by him (Qadi Zakariyya al-Ansari) to give legal decisions (fatwas) and to teach. He also studied under him grammar according to a chain of authorities going back to al-Sumunni (d. 872/1468).[20].

"He read and heard most of al-Minhaj in divisions from al-Sayyid Kamal al-Din b. Hamjah al-Shami[21] when he came to them in Egypt in

925/1519. He studied under al-Kamal many parts of al-Tawil. One part in the merits of the Night of Destiny (Lailat al-Qadr) written by al-lu'lu'i, the 'Iraqi reading with him (Kamal) having been licensed to do so by al-Sharaf al-Munawi[22] who had its author's permission. He also studied under him Alfuyyah of al-'Iraqi (d.806/1404) and received his permission to teach, instruct and give legal decisions (ajazahu bi 'L-tadris wa 'L-ifada wa 'L-'ifla'). He heard from Shaikh Amin al-Din b. al-Najjar (d. 972/1564) all the Muwatta' in the version (riwayah) of Yahya b. Yahya (d. 226/840). He learned much from al-Badr al-Mashhadi and studied under him al-Muwatta' in the recension (rewayah) of 'Ubai in full and a portion of the Musnad of Tayalisi (d. 204/819). He also learned from him *Sharh al-Nukhbah* and lectures from *Alfiyah al-Hadith*. He read the whole of al-Bukhari under Abu 'L-Su'ud Ahmad b. 'Allamah 'Izz al-Din al-Sunbati, and he read the Great Qur'an (al-Qur'an al-'Azim) and other works under the Shams al-Dalaji (d.947/1540). He learned Tafsir, Hadith and Fiqh from Shaikh Abu' L-Hasan al-Bakri (d.952/1545)."[23]

'Ali Mubarak Pasha, the author of Topography and History of Egypt, writes of him, "It appears that most learned Shaikh Najm al-Din al-Ghaiti is called after the village abu' L-Ghait. He was an Imam respected for his good morality and fine qualities."[24]

Al-Sha 'rani says in the appendix to his Tabaqat, "I was his compainon for more than forty years and I never saw in him any fault which could mar his religion, but he grew up in chastity and knowledge, politeness and modesty, generosity and good morals. He studied under several celebrated scholars, among whom were Shaikh Zakariyya al-Ansari, Shaikh 'Abd al-Haq al-Sumbati, Ibn Abi Sharif, al-Shihab and al-Ramli. After he secured the authorization to teach i. e. his academic degree (ijazah) he gave fatwas and taught others during the life time of his teachers. He was considered the greatest authority on Hadith, Tafsir and Tasawwuf. He wrote excellent commentaries on some of my books which no one had done previously for I had collected in them about three thousand various subjects, which only one who had seen them could believe existed. He used to spend his nights in prayer weeping, supplication and fear of God and some nights his face used to light up like the stars a fact which only an enemy or envious person could deny"[25]

Al-Sha'rani also mentions that God cast love of him into the hearts of people. So no one hated him except criminals (mujrim) or hypocrites (munafiq). He was continuously enjoining upon people to do what is good and forbidding them to do what is bad, doing so regardless of princes and great notables fearing no man's censure for the sake of Allah[26]. Al-Sha-'rani said, when some people caused trouble by taking peoples' posts unlawfully he stood up and faced the Pasha and the Princes with a strongly

worded protest which none of his colleagues could utter. It is owing to him that the trouble died out. His fame reached the Greeks (ahl-al-Rum), the Hijaz and Sham and all the Muslims thanked him for that. He became the Director of al-Salahiyyah[27] near (bi jawar) Iman Shafi'i and also of al-Khanqah and al-Siryaqusiyyah (madrasahs) which are among the highest offices of Islamic dignitaries (ajallu waza'if masha'ikh al-Islam). He got these posts without asking for them, the people of Egypt being unanimous in holding him in high esteem.[28]

Al-Sha'rani again reports, "I have never heard him backbiting any one. Somebody hurt him very much but he did not say single word in reply and so the people's love and respect for him increased and as did their hatred for his eneny. I have not seen anyone of the friends of Allah, most High ('auliya' Allah ta 'ala), of Egypt who did not love him and respect him, especially Shaikh Nur al-Din al-Shuni (d. 944/1537), for his father was one of the best friends of Shaikh Nur al-Din"[29]

Shaikh Qadi Muhib al-Din al-Hanafi (c. 1016/1608) mentioned him in his 'Journey to Egypt' (al-Durrat al-Madiyyah fi 'L-Ruhlah al-Misriyyah), "The hafiz of our time, who is unique this age (wahid dahrihi), the transmitter of Prophetic traditions in Egypt, the Imam, to whom people come from distant land, the great scholer Shaikh Najm al-Din al-Ghaiti is the Muhaddith par excellence of the region, possessing from perfections and supreme moral qualities. He has acquired all virtues and sciences and is master of marvelous prose and poetry (baca'i' al-manthur wa'L-Manzum). When he speaks of Prophetic tradition with his flowing words every Muslim admits that he is Imam al-Bukhari ('idha takallama fi 'L-Hadith bi Lafzihi-'L-jari 'aqarra kullu Muslimin bi annahu' 'L-Bukhari). The scholars of all the nations are agreed that he is the first in knowledge of Hadith, and that he is supreme as regards his chain of narrators. I have seen one of his compainons called 'The true story of the lend to Tamim (al-qawl al-qawim fi iqta' Tamim)."[30]

'Abd al-Hayy Ibn al-'Imad (d. 1089/1678) writes about Najm al-Din, "His treatise 'al-Mi'raj (i.e. *Kitab al-Ibtihaj bi 'L-Kalam 'ala 'L-Isra' wa 'L-Mi'raj*), a complete marvelous book on the Nocturnal Journey and Ascension of the Prophet to the Heaven, which people pass from hand to hand, is read by the scholars of the Azhar University every year in the month of Rajab."[31]

Now it remains for us whether Imam Najm al-Din ever undertook any journey outside Alexandria and Cairo for acquiring or imparting knowledge ?. We have no internal evidence for this, but we can have an attempt on the basis of the external implicit evidence that is the places with which his teachers are affiliated. It may be deduced that he took lessons from al-Ramli of Monufiyyah[32], Ibn Abi Sharif of Jerusalem,[33] Zakariyya al-Ansari, called al-

Sniki, of Sharqiyyah Province[34] and many other great scholars, all are from different parts of Egypt. It may also be probable that he studied under all of his teachers in Alexandria, his native town, then capital of Egypt, and in Cairo. These two centres were of special importance as centres of commerce and culture, where people from all parts of the country used to come for various purposes. In any case, it is not known to us that he had ever travelled beyond the frontiers of Alexandria and Cairo.

After completing his studies, Imam Najm al-Din devoted himself to disseminating knowledge and writing books in defence of the tenets of *ahl al-Sunnah wa 'L-Jama'ah.* He wrote more than 24 works, only a few of which have remained. His final and most important work is the *Kitab al-Ibtihaj bi 'L-kalam 'ala 'L-Isra' wa 'L-Miraj,* which had a lasting effect on the theology of all the subsequent generations and a decisive influence on all the writings of Isra and Miraj.

He died at the age of 71 in Safar[35] 981-5/1573-7. The scholars of Egypt date his death in the phrase : "Imam al-Hadith ma'a ahlal-na'im" (the scholar of Prophetic tradition with the people of paradise). That is the total of the numerical values of the Arabic letters. "امام الحديث مع اهل النعيم" is 982 (the year of his death).[36] However the author of Shadharat al-Dhahab[37] says, he died in 984 and some others say in 981.[38]

Works of Imam Najm al-Din

The facile pen of Imam Najm al-Din has produced very many important and pioneering works on Mystic Philosophy, Hadith, Tajwid, Scholastic theology and so on. Some of his works are in high esteem and are read by the scholars with ability and veneration. His work on the theme of Isra' and mi'raj had been provided with commentaries, abridged or summarised by more than ten celebrated scholars.[39] His works comprise both voluminous books as well as small booklets and leaflets. Many of his valuable works seem to have been lost to posterity. However, it is a source of satisfaction that the most important and by far the best work of Iman Najm al-Din, *Kitab al-Ibtihaj bi' L-Kalam 'ala 'L-Isra' wa 'L-Miraj,* along with some of his other works, is still existent.

The authors of Shafi'ite Tabaqat and other sources after giving some of the titles of his works, have suggested that he has many more works to his credit.[40] There appears to be a great deal of confusion because of anomalous ascription of works to him. Sometimes the same book is ascribed to him under different titles. We shall give here the titles of books ascribed to Inam Najm al-Din and also shall try to locate their manuscripts and enumerate their copies extent in different libraries of the world.

Books ascribed to Imam Najm al-Din

(i) *Kitab al-Ibtihaj bi 'L-kalam 'ala 'L-Isra' wa 'L-Mi'raj*

(1) Berlin, MS. No. 2603.
(2) Paris, MS. No. 1985.
(3) Br. Mus., MS. No. Or. 12658.
(4) Br. Mus., MS. No. Add. 5150.
(5) Br. Mus., MS. No. Add. 6904.
(6) Cairo, MS. No. 1, 257.
(7) Cairo, MS. No. V, 335.
(7) Cairo, MS. No. VII, 513.
(9) Algeria, MS. No. 729/2.
(10) Princ. MS. No. 304.
(11) Damascus, Z., MS. No. 62.
(12) Damascus, Z., MS. No. 185/2.
(13) Alexandria (Had.), MS. No. 147/8.
(14) Alexandria (Had.), MS. No. 147/2.
(15) Bat. Suppl., MS. No. 229.
(16) Bat. Suppl., MS. No. 552.
(17) Buhar, MS. No. 455.
(18) Garr., MS. No. 2177/1.
(19) Haupt, MS. No. 189.
(20) Mosul, MS. No. 230/58.
(21) Rampur, MS. No. 1, 281/1.
(22) Berlin, MS. No. 9532.

(ii) *Qissat Mi'raj an-Nabi.*

(1) Beirut, MS. No. 99.
(2) Berlin, MS. No. 2608.
(3) Cairo, MS. No. 1, 384.
(4) Cairo, MS. No. VII, 65.
(5) Cairo, MS. No. 207.
(6) Cairo, MS. No. 2 V, 82.
(7) Cairo, MS. No. V, 295.
(8) Paris, MS. No. 1, 985.

(iii) *Kitab al-Isra' wa 'L-Mi'raj.*

(1) Paris, MS. No. 1985.

(iv) *Al-Siraj al-Wahhaj fi 'L-Mi'raj.*

(1) Tunis, Zait, MS. No. 11, 302/1263.

(v) *Bahjat (Tuhfat al-Sami 'in wa 'L-Nazirin bi maulid Sayyid al-Awwalin wa 'L-Akhirin.*

(1) Algeria, MS. No. 729/1.
(2) Berlin, MS. No. 9532.
(3) Bat. Suppl. MS. No. 532.
(4) Cairo, MS. No. 1, 93.
(5) Cairo, MS. No. V, 378.
(6) Sbath, MS. No. 1159.

(vi) *Fi'L-Qutb wa 'L-Autad wa 'L-Nujaba'.*

1. Berlin, MS. No. 3366.

(vii) *Risalah fi 'L-kalam 'ala Khidr.*

1. Alexandria (Fun.), MS. No. 120/5.
2. Alexandria (Fun.), MS. No. 166/2.

(viii) *'Ataya 'L-'arifin.*

1. Rampur, MS. No 1, 131/350

(ix) *Al-Fara'id al-munazzama wa 'L-fawa'id al-muhakkama fima yuqalu fi 'btida' tadris al-hadith al-sharif.*

1. Cairo, MS. No. 346.

(x) *Arba 'una hadithan fi tarik al-salat wa mani' al-Zakat wa 'L-amr bi 'L-ma'ruf wa 'L-nahy 'an 'L-munkar wa 'L-wasiya bi'L-jar.*

1. Damascus (Z.), MS. No. 62.
2. Damascus (Z.), MS. No. 185/3.

(xi) *Sarf al-'iman ila qira' at Hafs b. Sulaiman.*
(xii) *Mashyakha.*

1. Cairo, MS. No.1, 248.

(xiii) *Al-Ajwiba al-mufida (al-Sadida) 'ala 'L-as'ila al-'adida (al-'a liya).*

1. Algeria, MS. No. 864.
2. Alexandria, (Fun.), MS. 134/2.
3. Asaf, MS. No. 1, 604/272.
4. Berlin, MS. No. 2687/8.
5. Bibl. Dahdah, MS. No. 40.
6. Cairo, MS. No. VII, 13.
7. Chankov, MS. No. 202.
8. Gotha., MS. No. 756.
9. Rampur, MS. No. 11, 137/260.
10. Paris, MS. No. 5316.

(xiv) *Risala fi Fada'il Lailat nisf min Sha'ban.*

1. Cairo, MS. No. VI, 163.
2. Cairo, MS. No. VII, 136.
3. Cairo, MS. No. 513.
4. Rampur, MS. No. 1, 698/37.

(xv) *Mawahib al-Karim al-Mannan fi 'L-Kalam 'ala Lailat al-Nisf wa fatihat sural al Dukhan.*

1. App., MS. No. 49.
2. Alexandria (Fun), MS. No. 167/20.
3. Cairo, MS. No. VI, 203.
4. Cairo, MS. No. VII, 169.
5. Cairo, MS. No. 1, 64.
6. Bat. Suppl, MS. No. 245.
7. Damacus (Z.), MS. No. 52.
8. Damascus (UM.), 65.
9. Damascus (Z.), MS. No. 48/2.
10. Damascus (Z.), MS. No. 62.
11. Damascus (Z.), MS. No. 185/1.
12. Garr., MS. No. 2177/2.

(xvi) *Al-Fara'id al-munazzama wa 'L-fawa'id al-muhkamah.*

1. Cairo, MS. No. 1, 77.

(xvii) *Mizan al-qasirin.*

1. Rampur, MS. No. 1, 369/342.

(xviii) *Al-Ta'yidat al-'aliya lil auqaf al-Misriya.*

1. Cairo, MS. No. 1, 502.

(xix) *Fatwa* (On the lands lent to Tamim al-Dari by Prophet (Sm).

(xx) *Ilhaf ahl al-iqan bi fawa'id tata 'allaq bil Istam wa 'L-Iman.*

1. Bat. Suppl. MS. No. 109.

(xxi) *Risala fi sama' al-maula*

1. Rampur, MS. No. 1, 303/160.

(xxii) *Jawab*.....(Some fragments without title).

1. Cairo, MS. No. VI, 202.
2. Gotha, MS. No. 91/3.
3. Hamb. Or. Sem. MS. No. 14/7.

(xxiii) *As'ila wa 'ajwiba fi ahwal al-maula*

1. Alexandria, (Fun.) MS. No. 135//1.

(xxiv) *Rasala fi 'L-Islam wa 'L-Iman*,[41]

Notes and References

1. Cf. Ibn 'Imad., *Shadharat al-Dhahab,* vol.8, p. 406 ; Yusuf b, Ilyan, *Mu'jam al-matbu'ah al-Arabiyyah wa'l-mu'arrabah,* p. 14 22.

He was also entitled 'Shaikh al Islam', 'Khatimat al-Fudala al-Muhaqqiqin wa'L-Muhaddithin', 'Khadim al-Sunnah wa'L-Shari'ah', 'al-Hibr al-Bahr', 'al-Hafiz', 'al-'Allamah al-Fahhamah', 'al-Muhaddith', 'al-Musnid', etc. cf. Ibid.

2. Cf. Khair al-Din al-Zirkili, *Al-A'lam,* vol. 6, p. 234.

3. Cf, 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, *al-Khitat al-Tawfiqiyyah,* vol 8, p. 26.

In this village there is a mosque, chicken farms and it contains a big house which belongs to its principle personalities. It has a weekly market. In its soil nice water melons and musk melons are grown which are extremely sweet to taste and to smel. Most of the melons sold in cairo, Alexandria and other cities are brought from this village and from Baisus and the nearby villages. Cf. Ibid ; Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 3, pp. 43-45.

4. Cf. Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. III, pp. 43-45.

5. Cf. Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah bi a'yan al-mi'at 'ashirah,* vol. 3, pp. 40.150.

6. Cf. Ibid., vol.1, p. 196, *al-Nur al-Safir,* p. 120.

7. Cf. *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* pp. 221-22, 239.

8. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab, vol.* 8, p. 118.

9. Cf. *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol, 2, p. 119.

10. Cf. *Shadharat al-Dhahab,* vol.8, p. 292 ; *Khitat Mubarak,* vol. 3, p. 127 ; *al-Kawakib,* vol. 2, p. 194 ; *Kashf al-Zunun,* vol. I, p. 376,

11. Cf. *Kashf al-Zunun,* vol. 2, p. 1853.

12. Cf. "Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, *Kitab lawaqih al-Anwar,* (Br. Mus. Add. 1991 14.) fol. 3471 Ib ; Brockelmann, GAL.11, p. 445, S. 11, p. 467.

13. Cf. *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 1, p. 196 ; 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, *al-Khitat al-Taufiqiyyah,* vlo. 12, p. 62 ; al-Nur al-Safir, p. 120 ; Yusuf al, Ilian Sarkis, *Mu'jam al-matbu'at al-'Arabiyyah wa 'L-mu'arrabah,* vol.I, p. 483.

14. Cf. Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 1I, p. 221 ; *Mu'jam al-Mu'llifi,* vol. I, p. 149.

15. Cf. Al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. I, p. 102 ; Ibn 'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab,* vol.8, p. 118, al-Shawkani, *al-Badr al-Tali,'* vol.I, p. 26 ; al-Sakhawi, *al-Dau' al-Lami',* 'vol. I, p. 134.

16. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL vol.2, p. 319, s. vol. 2, p. 440 ; al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 2, p. 117 ; Ibn 'Imad, *Shadharat al- Dhahab,* vol. 8, p. 359.

17. Ed. Jibra'il S. Jabbur, Haressa (Lebanon), 1959.

18. These words beginning with "wa" not "fa" occur in the Our'an : 2/5, 3/104, 9/88, 24/51, 30/38 and 31/5.

19. Cf. *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 3, p. 51.

20. Cf. Ibid., pp. 51-2 ; Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab,* vol, 8, p. 406.

21. He is Muhammad b. 'Umar b. Hamjah (d. 938/1531). Cf. *al-A'lam* of Khair al-Din al-Zirkili, vol. 7. p. 208.

22. Died 798/1393.

23. Cf. Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah,* vol. 3, p. 52. al-Sha' rani, *Tabaqat al-Akhyar* (Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19, 914), fol 347 b.

24. Cf. 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, *al-khitat al-Taufiqiyyah,* vol. 8, p. 26,

25. Cf. Ibid., Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah*, vol. 3, p. 52.

26. Cf. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, *Kitab Lawaqih al-Anwar fi Tabaqat al-Akhyar* (Br. Mus. Add. 19, 914), fol, 347b.

27. According to Professor W.N. 'Arafat, a renowned scholar of Muslim world, many religious madrasahs, including this institution, are named after celebrated Sultan Ghazzi Salah al-Din al-Aiyyubi (d. 589/1193).

28. Cf. Najm al-Din al-Ghazzi, *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah*, vol. 3, p. 52.

29. Cf. Ibid., Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol. 8, p. 406.

30. Cf. Ibid., 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, *al-Khutat al-Taufiqiyyah*, vol. 8, p. 26.

31. Cf. *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol. 8, p. 406.

32. Cf. *al-Kawakib al-Sa'irah*, vol. 2, p. 119.

33. Cf. Ibid., vol. I, p, 102 ; *Shadharat al-Dahab*, vol. 8, p. 118.

34. Cf. Ibid., p. 196.

35. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL vol. II, p. 445.

36. Cf. Yusuf b. Ilyan Sarkis, Mu'jam al-Matbu 'at, p. 1422.

37. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol, 8, p. 406.

38. Cf. *al-Kitab al-Taufiqiyyah*, vol. 8, p. 26, *Fihris Makhtutat Dar al-kutub al-Zahiriyyah*, p. 37.

39. Cf. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani, *Kitab Lawaqih al-Anwar fi Tabaqat al-akhyar* (Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19, 914), fol. 347 b.

40. Cf. Ibn al-'Imad, *Shadharat al-Dhahab*, vol. 8, p. 406.

41. Cf. Brockelmann, GAL. vol. 2, p. 445. S, vol. 2, p. 467.

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ANIRVACANIYAKHYATIVADA : A NEW DEFENCE AND A NEW INTERPRETATION

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The nature of error is one of the most important and controversial issues discussed at great length by the most of the schools of Indian philosophy. But no discussion of error can be said to be comprehensive without a proper account and understanding of the Advaita theory of error, which is technically known as *anirvacaniyakhyativada.* This theory is the logical consequence of the refutation of the other *khyativadas* on the ground that the content of erroneous cognition cannot really exist in the substratum, it is not also a memory image, neither is it a real existing elsewhere, nor again is it purely internal or absolutely non-existent. When we analyse illusory experience we find three stages there. The first is the illusory perception. Here we perceive the nacre as silver or rope as snake. The second stage is the stage of sublation where we say, 'this is not silver' or 'this is not snake'. In the third stage we have the knowledge of falsity. This is the stage of reflection. Here we come to the conclusion that rope-snake or nacre-silver can neither be real nor unreal nor both. Had it been real, its cognition could not be delusive, nor could there be any sublating experience. Again, since it is perceived, it cannot be unreal either. Thus, because of cognition the silver in illusion cannot be called unreal, and because of sublation, it cannot be called real. And it cannot be both real and unreal at the same time, for this will be the violation of the law of contradiction. What, then, is it? The Advaitins hold that the only answer to this question is that it is *anirvacaniya.*[1]

The present paper is an attempt to remove some misunderstandings regarding *anirvacaniyakhyativada* and to throw some new light on this theory.

The term *'anirvacaniya'* is a category used by the Advaitins to explain their theory of error. It ferers to something which can be stated neither as real, nor as unreal, neither none, nor both. The meaning of the term *'anirvacaniya'* is not easily graspable. For this reason, Sarvajnatmamuni[2] has said : "Even now, I do not understand the term *'anirvacaniya'* though I thoughtfully enter into the core of all the philosophical doctrines".[3] This reminds one, of Bertrand Russell's confession. He has, like Sarvajnatman, made a fair confession that he has never understood the exact meaning of the term 'category', whether in Aristotle or in Kant and Hegel.[4] *Anirvacan-*

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iyata being a category, it is nothing but natural on the part of any body to face difficulty in understanding the meaning of this term. However, the term '*anirvacaniya*' itself is not *anirvacaniya.* It may not be defined, but can be describe, though negatively. The term '*anirvacaniya*' does not mean that it is different from the real alone, for the unreal sky-flower also is different from the real. Nor does it signify that it is different from the unreal alone, since the real Brahman also is different from the unreal. Again, it cannot be said that *anirvacaniya* means that it is also distinct from the 'real-unreal"[5], and the unreal too, being distinct from the real, is distinct from the 'real and the unreal' but also distinct from the 'real-unreal'. We shall see in the coming sections that the category '*anirvacaniya*' is not applicable to the real Brahman and the unreal like hare's horn. Though Brahman is distinct from the unreal and real-unreal, it does not contain distinction from the real, since it is real as such. Therefore, Brahman cannot be called *anirvacaniya.* Again, the unreal hare's horn cannot be regarded as *anirvacaniya,* for although it is distrnct from the real and the real-unreal, yet it is not distinct from the unreal as it is the unreality as such. In Advaita literature, the tern '*anirvacaniya*' is applicable only to the phenomenal and the empirical reality.

The terms '*anirvacaniya*' and '*mithya*' dc not convey the same meaning when they are generally used. But in *Advaita Vedanta* they are used as synonymous. To Sankara as well as other post-Sankara Advaitins the term '*mithya*' stands for *anirvacaniya.*[6] Advaitins consider the world to be *mithya,* and by the term '*mithya*' they mean *anirvacaniya.* This position has been clearly stated by Padmapada in his *Pancapadika.*[7] Of course, in the *Pancapadika,* two meanings of the term' '*mithya*' have been given, viz., negation and indescribability.[8] But the second, (i.e. indescribability) is the sense Padmapada has in mind when he describes the world as *mithya.* To all the Advaitins, what is *mithya* is *sadasadvilaksanam* or *anirvacaniya.*

A.K. Roy Chowdhury says that the Advaitins use the term '*anirvacaniya*' as 'that which does not contain reality or unreality, or both reality and unreality'.[9] Now, the question arises : what does he mean by the term 'that' here ? Is it an object which does not contain reality or unreality ? Or is it something else ? In our opinion, the use of the term 'that' for '*anirvacaniya*' is misleading, because, 'that' refers to some object or some entity. Nor is it an entity as held by G.R. Malkani.[10] For, entity means 'thing's existence as opposed to qualities ; thing that has existence'.[11] The Oxford English Dictionary gives this meaning But this is not applicable to *anirvacaniyata.* Therefore, the term ' *anirvaniya*' cannot be used in the sense of entity. Thus, *anirvacaniyata* is neither an object nor an entity. But then, what does it signify ? According to the Advaitins it is a category.[12] *Anirvacaniyata* is not something as such, it is a category that refers to something which is neither real, nor unreal, neither none, nor both.[13]

The meaning of the term *'anirvacaniya'*, as used by Sankara, should be clearly understood in the beginning, otherwise many misunderstadings are likely to crop up later.[14] The generally accepted meaning of the term *'anirvacaniya'* is unutterable, unspeakable or indescribable.[15] But Sankara does not use the the *'anirvacaniya'* in these sense. He has, in our opinion, a special meaning for it.[16] When something cannot be said either to be real or to be unreal, he uses the term *'anirvacaniya'*.[17] This term is very often translated loosely as indescribable, indeterminable, indefinable etc. without caring either for the exact sense in which it is used by Sankara or for the proper meanings of these terms. But it should be noted here that the term 'anirvacaniya' as used by Sankara does not convey the exact meaning of any of these terms in their common usage. For example, the term 'indescribable' means 'beyond description'. This word is applicable to a barren woman's son or to a square circle, for both are beyond description, since they are absolute naught. But Sankara does not consider them to be *anirvacaniya*. Again, a term is said to be indefinable when it cannot be defined. This term is applicable to Brahman, for definition demands the statement of the essence of the term concerned, and according to Sankara, Brahman's essence cannot be stated. But he does not hold that Brahman is *anirvacaniya*. We shall see later, that according to Sankara, *anirvacaniyata* refers to the objects belonging to the *pratibhasika satta* and the *vyavaharika satta*, and not to the *paramarthika satta* or to the aboslutely unreal. Therefore, while using terms like indescribable or indefinable for *anirvacaniya*, one should bear in the mind that it refers to something which cannot be determined in terms of set ideas such as real or unreal or both.[18]

Does *'anirvacaniyata'* mean indefinability or is it itself a definiton ? N.K. Devaraja holds that the term *'anirvacaniya'* in Sankara is not a synonym for the 'indefinable' or the unintelligible. "For from being a negation of definition the term *'anirvacaniya'* is itself a defininion".[19] He further contends that the application of the epithet *'anirvacaniya'* to the phenomenal object is an attempt at its *'nirvacana'*, 'even as a ring finger is sought to be named by the designation *anamika* or the nameless'.[20]

N.K. Devaraja is wrong in holding that in 'Sankara's philosophy *'anirvacaniya'* is itself a drfinition'. Sankara nowhere uses the term *'anirvacaniya'* in the sense of definition, and in fact, by no definition of definition, *'aniracaniya'* can be used as a definition. A definition according to both Western and Indian logic is the statement of the essence of a term. But as we have already seen that the term *'anirvacaniya'* does not convey this meaning. On the contrary though it does not mean 'indefinable' its sense is more akin to and ultimately leads one to that. Again, his comparison of *'anirvacaniya'* with *anamika*, the name of the ring finger, is misleading. Sankara has never used the term

'anirvacaniya' in the sense the term *'anamika'* is used. *'Anirvacaniya'* is a category that refers to something which can be called neither real, nor unreal, neither none nor both. But calling ring-finger by the name *anamika* does not mean that it is not real or unreal, nor does it mean that it is nameless. In fact, it is a name. It can be renamed also, and can be called by other name.

P.K. Sundaram does not like the term *'anirvacaniya'* to be translated as indefinable in the sense of incapcity of being defined.[21] In stating his position he seems to have committed three mistakes by making a distinction between indefinablity and 'incapacity of being defined' ; by confusing indefinability with indescribability and by contradicting himself. He writes : "The indefinability that characterises the silver in illusion does not mean the incapacity of being defined".[22] Here he makes a distinction between indefinability and the incapacity of being defined.But in fact, they are not different. On the contrary, indefinability does mean the incapacity of being defined. Again he writes : "If it were to denote the inability to define what its nature is, then silence is the only course open to us, and no discussion will be possible".[23] Here he seems to have confused description with definition. The alternative of description may be silence, but not of definition as P.K. Sundaram holds. Furthermore, he contradicts himself. He writes : "Indefinability is not bankruptcy of explanation, but points to an intriguing situation not easily comprehended under any usual modes of thought". This statement contradicts his earlier statement quoted above.

While explaining the Advaita theory of error, V.A. Sharma confuses the meaning of the term 'definition'. He writes : "the best way of defining is to admit that it is indeterminable, *anirvacaniya*".[24] This is self-contradictiory If we admit that one term is indeterminable then we cannot define it, for the very meaning of the term 'definition' is to determine the meanning of a term. Therefore, if we claim to have defined a term we have no right to say that it is indeterminable.

Thus we see that *anirvacaniyata* does not mean definability. Nor does it mean indefinability. In Sankara's philosophy, *maya, avidya, mithya,* the object of erroneous cognition etc., have been termed as *anirvacaniya.* But the term *anirvacaniya* is never used by him in the sense of *laksana* or definition. The term is used only when something cannot be determined as real or unreal. *Anirvacaniyata* does not mean indefinability, but it leads to indefinability, for if we cannot explain a term as real or unreal, we cannot have a definition of it.

If we carefully study *anirvacaniyakhyativada* we find that to the Advaitins all synthetic judgments are *anirvacaniya.* The reason which is very simple, can be syllogistically explained in the following way :

Whatever is false, is *anirvacaniya.*
All synthetic judgments are false.
∴ All synthetic judgments are *anirvacaniya.*

About the minor premise of this argument, the Advaitins urge that no synthetic judgment even if it is quite significant from practical point of view can be called true, for in principle there is always the chance of its falsifiability. Even if it is granted that the so-called true judgments are not falsified it does not mean that they will not be falsified.

However, it is difficult to agree with the Advaitins on this point, for though it is a fact that true judgments may once be falsified, yet it does not follow from this that true judgments will necessarily be falsified. There is no necessary connection between a judgment's being synthetic and its being falsified. And even if we admit that there is such a necessary connection, it will prove to be a boomerang, for the judgment—'synthetic judgments are falsifiable' is itself a synthetic judgment.

According to the Advaitins there are two types of cognitions : valid or normal cognition and false or erroneous cognition.[25] A valid cognition is one whose content remains unsublated and an erroneous cognition is one whose content is contradicted by subsequent cognition. While the object of erroneous cognition which is apprehended only by the person concerned is 'private' ; that of a valid cognition is public, for it is open to perception by different individuals at the same time, and it is perceived practically in the same way by all of them. The object of the erroneous cognition exists only at the time of its perception, but the object of valid cognition has a more enduring character. The Advaitins label the former as phenomenal or *pratibhasika* and the latter as empirical or *vyavaharika.* It will be explained in the sequel that the Advaita theory of error is concerned only with these *pratibhasika* and *vyavaharika* sattas.

The Advaitins hold that error arises on account of the superimposition of one order of reality on another. But it is quite known that Sankara recognises three grades of reality : *pratibhasika, vyavaharika* and *paramarthika.* If the subject and the predicate of the proposition belong to the same order of reality, there is no possibility of error. But when they belong to the different grades of reality, there arises error. In the rope-snake illusion the snake belongs to the *pratibhasika* level because it is perceived by only one individual and that too also for a brief moment. Its existence is closely bound up with its perception. In the same way, in nacre-silver illusion the silver is perceived only by one individual for a brief moment. Dream objects also belong to this category. All these belong to the lowest order of reality —*the pratibhasika satta.* The rope and the nacre which are the substratum of the ropesnake and nacre-silver illusion respectively, belong to a higher order. They are the same to the same individuals at different times and the same

to different individuals at the same time. They exist more or less permanently. These all belong to the empirical or *Vyavaharika* order of reality. Ordinarily, the knowledge of these objects do not suffer contradition, they suffer contradiction only when man attains the knowledge of Brahman. Brahman-consciousness cannot suffer from contradiction, because it is impossible to conceive of the absence of consciousness at any level. Moreover, even the denial of consciousness would mean an affirmation of consciousness .For the denial also is a piece of knowledge.[26] Again, absolutely unreal like square-circle or barren woman's son is not object of error, for no one has ever seen or can ever seen a square-circle or a barren woman's son. There cannot be any erroneous cognition of them.

Thus it is clear from what has been stated above that error arises only when a lower order of reality is superimposed on a higher order. The snake belongs to the *prativhasika order* of reality, and the rope on which it is superimposed belongs to the *vyavaharika* order of reality. Sometimes it may happen that we imagine only a rope whereas in reality there is a snake. But the underlying principle is the same. Seeing a rope when there is in fact a snake, is also a case of superimposition. Here the rope and the snake respectively belong to the *pratibhasika* and the *vyavaharika* order of reality. Therefore, Sankar holds that what is superimposed must be assigned to a lower order of reality for its knowledge suffers contradiction, when a higher knowledge arises. Again, that on which the superimposition takes place belongs to a higher order of reality from its knowledge remains intact even after examination has taken place.[27] But one point should be noted here that though as regards the grades of reality the *pratibhasika satta* and the *vyavaharika satta* belong to different levels, yet in respect of the *anirvacaniyatva,* both stand on the same level.

We have seen in the last section that the concept of error has connection with the grades of reality. Only the *pratibhasika* and the *vyavaharika sattas* are objects of erroneous cognition. Absolute reality cannot be sublated and absolute unreality cannot be negated, and therefore, they cannot be subject to erroneous cognition. Only the phenomenal and the empirical objects are subject to erroneous perceptions. We know that the empirical world has been treated by Sankara as a superimposition on Brahman for its knowledge suffers contradiction when Brahman-consciousness arises. Now the former type of error can be explained as metaphysical error and the latter type as a common error. The common or the ordinary error can be set right by a little examination. For example, in the case of rope-snake illusion, the error can easily be set right with the help of a lamp. But the metaphysical error, on the other hand, cannot be set right so easily. For this, one has to go through much discipline and acquire necessary knowledge in order to rise to Brahman-consciousess which will consign the *vyavaharika*

or the empirical world to a lower order.[28] In the case of ordinary error one object may be superimposed on the other, for both are concrete objects existing in time and space. But it seems to be really difficult to understand how the world can be susperimposed on Brahman which is avove space, time and causality. Sankara does not admit this difficulty. He argues that it is not a necessary condition that a superimposition should take place on objects in time and space.[29] He contends that on the sky which does not have any shape or colour, we superimpose shape and colour.[30] However, both the common and metaphysical error are *anirvacaniya.*

Though *anirvacaniyakhyativada* is the logical consequence of the refutation of other theories of error, the Advaitins have put forward some arguments to prove that the object of erroneous cognition is *anirvacaniya.* These are : (a) the argument from the mutual criticism of the rival theories of error, (b) the argument from sublation and (c) the argument from implication. However, the third argument was put forward by Sankara himself and the Advaitins mainly bank on this proof.

The first argument is put forward by Vimuktatman. He argues that *asatkhyati, atmakhyati, akhyati, viparitakhyati* and *anyathakhyati* cancel out each other by their mutually contradictory agruments.[31] The fact of appearance goes against the *asatkhyativada* and the fact of sublation is detrimental to all the theories which consider the object of illusion to be real.Thus between themselves they unknowingly establish the *anirvacaniyata* of the illusory object. This argument apparently seems to be sound, but in our opinion, it is not tenable. It may be pointed out there that in the fourth chapter of his *Mandukya-Karika,* Gaudapada refutes the theories of the various rival schools of Indian philosophy. Like Vimuktatman, he has nade a suggestion in this regard that the fight among the opponents of Vedanta shows that their theories are wrong, and the only sound theory is their common rival, the Vedanta theory of the absolute. In our opinion, the argument put forward by Gaudapada or Vimuktatman cut both ways and might be applied by a particular school of philosophy against their own position.

The second argument is put forward by Citsukha.[32] His argument can be explained in the following two syllogisms :

Whatever is beyond sublation is not *anirvacaniya.*
The Absolute or Atman is beyond sublation
∴ The Absolute or Atman is not *anirvacaniya.*

Whatever is sublated or can be sublated is *anirvacaniya.*
The illusory object is sublated.
∴ The illusory object is *anirvacaniya.*[33]

The syllogisms are formally valid. But the major premises are not established or proved, they themselves require proofs. These premises concerned are proved by the Advaitins through the arguments from implication

or *arthapatti.* Therefore, this is the real proof for *anirvacaniyakhyati.* However, let us see how this is proved by the argument from implication or *arthapatti.*

According to the *anirvacaniyakhyativada,* error is the cognition of an *anirvacaniya* object.[34] This *anirvacaniya* is proved through the argument from *arthapatti.* Illusory object is not unreal because it appears in experience. What is unreal (e.g., a barren woman's son) can never be in experience of any one. It is not null or void for it is immediately perceived. The very necessity that one feels to account for the appearance of the illusory object shows that it is not a figment of imagination. On the contrary, it cannot be said to be real, for it gets sublated as soon as right knowledge has arisen.That which is real should be the content of knowledge at all times. But the illusory silver for instance, vanishes with the knowledge of the nacre. Thus, sublatablility proves the negation of reality for silver. Again, it is a contradiction in terms to consider anything as both real and unreal. Therefore it is proved that it is neither real nor unreal. From this it follows, by implication, that the object of erroneous cognition is *anirvacaniya.* The cognition and sublation can be explained if and only if we assume the object in question to be *anirvacaniya.*[35] Therefore, the Advaitins hold that any explanation of illusion is unintelligible if we do not assume its indescribability.[36] However, it is to be noted here that there are two criteria of *arthapatti*—one is that the cognition of the illusory object is explained only by the hypothesis of its *anirvacaniyata,* and the other is that its sublation can be justified only on the assumption of its *anirvacaniyata.*

The critics of Advaita Vedanta have raised many objections against *anirvacaniyakhyativada.* Of them, the most important objections are : (a) *Anirvacaniyakhyati* is contrary to experience. (b) Thie real alone can be manifested and the unreal alone be negated. (c) *Anirvacaniyakhyati* implies that the content of illusion is absolutely non-existent. (d) It cannot avoid *anyathakhyati.* (e) It cannot really explain cognition and sublation. (f) There cannot be any possible cause of *anirvacaniya* object. (g) Existence of an unperceived *anirvacaniya* silver is unreasonable (h) And *anirvacaniyata* is not unavoidable. All these objections are based on misunderstanding of *anirvacaniyakhyativada.* Moreover, none of them can be proved to be logically tenable. However, we shall now beriefly explain these objections along with answers given to them by the Advaitins.

It is argued by the critics[37] that the *anirvacaniyakhyativada* is contrary to experience, for it is possible to define the illusory cognition as 'This is silver' and so on. Moreover, the critics contend, the perceptual apprehension, 'This is silver' shows the reality of the silver, and the sublating cognition, 'This is not silver' proves the unreality of the the same. But neither the cognition nor the sublation can claim to testify or justify the silver in question to be

anirvacaniya. Thus according to the critics, it is not reasonable to hold *anirvacaniyakhyativada* for, it is contrary to experience. Against this ojbection the answer of the Advaitins is that it is because the reality underlying substratum bears an *anirvacaniya* relation to the superimposed silver that the prior cognition takes the illusory silver as real. Now, since the relation is *anirvancaniya* or ultimately false, the later cognition regards the silver as unreal. The Advaitins argue that though cognitions separately indicate the apparent reality and unreality of the illusory silver, the two cognitions viewed together definitely prove the *anirvacaniyata* of the silver (i.e. the silver is neither absolutely real nor absolutely unreal).[38] Thus, through *arthapatti* or implication the Advaitins are in a position to prove the *anirvacaniyata* of the illusory silver. Therefore, P.K. Sundaram has rightly remarked that there is no contradiction with experience for the assertion of the *anirvacaniyata.*[39]

The critics point out that a thing which is not real cannot be manifested and that which is unreal cannot be sublated or negated. They argue that only the real can be manifested and only the unreal can be negated, i.e. to be manifested is to be real and to be negated is to be unreal. They contend that the Advaita position that the object of cognition is neither real nor unreal, is unreasonable. Therefore, they argue that for the justification of cognition and sublation of illusory experience the supposition of *anirvacaniya* object does not help us in any way. Against this objection the Advaitins reply that there is no ground for holding that the real alone is mainfested. They hold that the unreal cannot be manifested. But from this it does not allow that only the real is manifested. For, to those who hold *anirvacaniyakhyativada,* it is not acceptable that the negation of one of the opposites implies the admission of the other.[40] Again, the Advaitins hold that the real is that which is ever true in on mode of being and it cannot therefore be sublated at any time. Now, since the silver in question is sublated, it cannot be regarded as real. Again, it cannot also be held that the unreal alone is sublated, for, if it were the case the silver could not be sublated since it is not unreal. The question may be reaised : why is it not unreal ? The Advaitins have any easy answer for it. They hold that an urneral is that which can never be an object of cognition. The silver is an object of cognition, therefore, it is not unreal. Thus it is evident that the view of the critics that only the real is manifested and the unreal is negated does not stand scrutiny.

The critics of the *anirvacaniyakhyativada* urge that even if we admit that the erroneous cognition points to an object which is neither real nor unreal, neither none nor both, yet the corrective knowledge 'definitely' and 'unmistakeably' shows that the content of illusion is absolutely non-existent ; therefore, the admission of the *anirvacaniya* object is contradicted by the sublating cognition. The reply of the Advaitins to this objection is that

though the correction rejects the content absolutely, it need not force the conclusion that the content of the erroneous cognition is absolutely non-existent. In erroneous cognitions, as held by the Advaitins, the *pratibhasika* silver is cognised as if it were *vyavaharika* silver. Correction proves that it is not *vyavaharika,* it is only *pratibhasika.*[41] But from this it cannot be concluded that the silver is non-existent. The object of negation is the *pratibhasika* silver, though not as *pratibhasika* but as *vyavaharika.* In the sublating cognition the negatum is the *pratibhasika* silver appearing as *vyavaharika.* The illusory content as such is not the object of negation[42], for every cognition is firmly attached to its content and cognition can deprive another cognition of its content. Therefore, it cannot be said that the illusory object as such, is rejected by the correcting cognition. Moreover, the correcting cognition, 'This is not silver' refers to the difference of the *pratibhasika* from the *vyavaharika.* The *vyavaharika* silver is the object of negation, but this negation should be understood as difference or *anyanyabhava* and not as absolute negation or *atyantabhava.*[43] Thus, it is evident that the objection of the critics that the corrective knowledge shows that the content of illusion is absolutely non-existent and the admission of an *anirvacaniya* object is contradicted by sublating cognition does not stand scrutiny.

There is an objection against *anirvacaniyakhyativada* that it cannot avoid *anyathakhyati.* This objection is mainly raised by Ramanuja who though committed to *satkhyati* is quite inclined to *anyathakhyati.* He holds that the advocate of any theory of error is bound to admit in the final stage the principle of *anyathakhyati.*[44] Regarding the *anirvacaniyakhyati* he argues that if the advocates of this theory do not admit that one thing appears as another, they cannot explain the erroneous object, the ensuing activity and the sublating cognition. He further contends that as the Advaitins admit error, the volitional activity that follows it, and the sublating cognition, this amounts to admitting that one thing is perceived as something else.[45] Though this argument does not hold good, yet this cannot be easily brushed aside. In fact, while explaining illusions due to adjuncts (*sopadhikabhrama*) the Advaitins come very close to the view of *anyathakyati.*[46] It may be mentioned here that Vacaspatimisra's description of such erroneous cognitions as 'The conch-shell is yellow' resembles the *anyathakyativada* so much that his commentator, Amatananda had to defend him against the charge of upholding *anyathakhyati.*[47] However, let us see the tenability of Ramanuja's objection.

There is no need to accept *anayathakhyati* (as Ramanuja urges) for the purpose of explaining the cognition of an erroneous object and what follow thereafter. If we examine *anyathakhyativada* we can easily find that if this theory would have been sufficient to explain the cognition of nacre as silver, then one could argue on this account that clay is seen as pot in the same why as nacre is seen as silver. Ramarayakavi has rightly remarked that this

would, however, rule out the necessity of accepting the creation of a pot from clay.[48] But this cannot be accepted either by the advocates of *anyathakhyati* or by those who are sympathetic towards this theory of error.[49] Therefore, the question of Advaitins' accepting this view does not arise at all.

The critics again urge that even if it is conceded for the sake of argument that an *anirvacaniya* silver is created in the nacre at the time of its perception, the Advaitins cannot but accept *anyathakhyati,* for the newly created silver which is not real appears as real at the time of its perception. Even this objection is of no avail. The person concerned cognizes the silver which is newly created in the nacre, as silver. Ramarayakavi argues that here silver is seen as silver, therefore, to perceive silver as silver is not *anyathakhyati.* Now as regards the question : How in erroneous cognition silver is perceived as silver ? Ramarayakavi says that the difference between the nacre-silver and the real silver is not in respect of their form or *akara,* for both are silver. Had the former been different from the other it would not have been cognized as silver.[50] Now he argues that since the silver in the nacre, when perceived, is perceived as silver and that it is not real is known only later on and not at the time of perception, there is no question of *anyathakhyati.* Moreover, the objection of the critics that the *anirvacaniya-khyativadins* are bound to accept *anyathakyativada* can be answered from the point of view of the difference between these two theories. While the *anya-thakhyativada* regards the object of illusion as belonging to another place and time, the *anirvacaniyakhyativada* maintains that it is originated by nescience at the time and place it is perceived ; what is cognized is not remembered, nor is illusory cognition identical with memory. Thus, there is no reason to hold that *anirvacaniyakhyati* cannot avoid *anyathakhyati.*

The critics argue that the illusory silver is non-existent thing and there cannot be any sublation. And, again, since it is different from an existent thing, there cannot be any cognition of it. Therefore, they conclude, *anirva-caniyakhyativada* does not and cannot explain cognition and sublation. This objection is untenable for two reasons. (a) The grounds for the absence of sublation and the absence of cognition are existence and non-existence respectively, but not the difference from the non-existence and the difference from the existence. Therefore, P.K. Sundaram has rightly remarked :[51] "Why should the absence of sublation be explained with reference to a non-existent thing, when there is the straight way of explaining it with reference to the existent" ? In fact, since the existent explains the absence of sublation, one does not have to bring in the difference from the non-existent as the ground of non-sublation. (b) The Advaitins never hold that the illusory object is non-existent. What they hold is that it is neither real nor unreal. Thus the objection that since the illusory object is non-existent it cannot be sublated

and since it is different from existent it cannot be cognised, does not hold good. And thereby the allegation of the critics that the *anirvacaniyakhyativada* does not and cannot explain cognition and sublation is not tenable.

The Advaitins hold that *avidya* is the material cause of erroneous cognition, i.e., it is the cause of the *anirvacaniya* object. But the critics have objection to this view. They urge that the real alone is originated and the unreal alone is negated. The *anirvacaniya* object being neither real nor unreal cannot be said to be both originated and negated. Therefore, the question of the cause of *anirvacaniya* object does not arise. Moreover, they urge, *avidya* cannot be the cause of erroneous object. *Avidya* is false knowledge (*mithyajnana*) or absence of knowledge is negative. An attribute or a negative fact cannot be the material cause of anything. Therefore, *avidya* cannot be the cause of *anirvacaniya* object.

This objection has two parts : (a) *Anirvccaniya* object being neither real or unreal cannot have any beginning or end, and therefore, does not have any cause. (b) Even if *avidya* is considered to be the cause of *anirvacaniya* object, it cannot be accepted, for *avidya* being an attribute and negative cannot be cause of anything. The Advaitin's answer to the objection that the real alone is manifested and the unreal alone is negation, is applicable to this objection. In fact, the Advaitins never said that the real alone is manifested and the unreal alone is negated. What they held is that the unreal cannot be manifested and the real cannot be sublated. Therefore, the first part of the objection does not stand. As reagards the second part of the objection, the Advaitins reply that *avidya* is not only negative, it has a positive aspect too. *Avidya* is an '*anirvacya* substance' and it is the material cause of *anirvacya* object. They point out that any cause should be conceived in accordance with the effect. If the cause of the *anirvacya* object was a real thing, it should be real (empirically). Its cause cannot be unreal either, for unreal has not causal efficiency. Therefore, the cause of illusory object which is *anirvacaniya,* is nothing but *anirvacya avidya.*[52]

The critics urge that since the silver, when apprehended, is apprehended as something real and not as something *anirvacaniya,* it is unreasonable on the part of the Advaitins to assume the existence of an 'unperceived indeterminable silver'. Ramanuja says that when the nacre-silver is not perceived as *anirvacaniya,* the Advaitins should not assume that existence of such an entity.[53] This objection is not tenable. While explaining the stages of superimposition we have already seen that in the first stage, the nacre-silver is pereived as real, and that is why the cogniser tries to pick it up. Only in the third stage it is known to be *anirvacaniya.* The *anirvacaniyakhyativada* does not assume the existence of an unperceived *anirvacaniya* object; it is because of the realization and reflection of the cogniser, he comes to the conclusion that the illusory silver is neither real, nor unreal, nor both, nor

none, i.e., it is *anirvacaniya.* Thus, the objection raised by Ramanuja that the Advaita theory of error assumes the existence of the 'unperceived indeterminable' object, does not hold good. Moreover, since what is unreal cannot be cognized and the real cannot suffer contradiction, the Advaitins, on the basis of cognition and sublation, are quite justified in holding the view that illusory object is *anirvacaniva.*

The Advaitins hold that *anirvacaniyata* is the only explanation of the erroneous cognition. While explaining error *anirvacaniyata* is unavoibable, it is inevitable. The Advaitins hold that any explanation of illusion is unintelligible, if we do not assunme its *anirvacaniyata.*[54] The critics argue that *anirvacaniyata* is not unavoidable, for any account of error. They hold that the nature of nacre-silver may be determined as both real and unreal on the ground that it is real at the time of perception and unreal at the time of sublation. Therefore, they conclude, *anirvacaniyata* is not the only explanation of error. But this objection of the critics does not stand scrutiny. The one and the same silver cannot be regarded as both real and unreal. What is real cannot be unreal at the same time. Again, what is real can never be sublated and what is unreal can never be perceived. Now, as the illusory silver is both perceived and sublated, it cannot be said to be both real and unreal, on the contrary, it is a must for it to be different from both real and unreal. That means, it has to be characterized as *sadasadvilaksana* or *anirvacaniya.* Thus, it is evident that while explaining error, *anirvacaniyata* is unavoidable, it is inevitable.

Notes and References

1. Vimuktatman, *Istasiddhi,* Gaekward Oriental Series, LXV, Baroda, 1933, p. 47.
2. Sarvajnatmamuni, *Sanksepa Sariraka,* 1. 128.
3. "What, exactly, is meant by the word 'category', whether in Aristotle, or in Kant and Hegel, I must confess that I have never been able to understand". B. Russell, *A History of Western Philosophy,* Eighteenth Paper back Printing, pp. 199-200. Karl H. Potter writes : "The Advaitins theory of error as the presentation of an *anirvacaniya* object is easy enough to state, though it may be hard to understand." *Presuppositions in Indian Philosophy.* Prentice Hall of India, New Delhi, p. 222.
4. A.K. Roy Chowdhury uses this term to mean a supposed entity which is different from both real and unreal. *The Doctrine of Maya,* Das Gupta & Co., Calcutta, 1950, p. 45.
5. Cf. A.K. Roy Chowdhury, *Self and Falsity in Advaita Vedanta.* Progressive Publishers, Calcutta, 1965, p. 120. : Also, Karl H. Potter, op. cit., p. 227.
6. *Pancapadika,* Calcutta Sanskrit Series, No. 1. p. 4.
7. *Ibid.,* p. 88.
8. A.K. Roy Chowdhury, *The Doctrine of Maya,* p. 45.
9. G.R. Malkani, 'Ajnana' in G.R. Malkani edited *Ajnana.* Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 26, Luzac & Co. Ltd., London, 1953, p. 28.

10. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*. the term 'entity' means : "Being, existence, as opposed to non-existence : the existence, as distinguished from the qualities or relations of anything" or "That which constitutes the being of a thing ; essence, essential nature" or "something that has a real existence. ." But. none of these meanings is applicable to *anirvacaniyata*.

11. Aristotle has talked about ten categories. According to Kant, there are twelve categories. But Advaita Vedanta holds three categories ; real, unreal and *anirvacaniya*.

12. Cf. A.K.Roy Chowdhury, *Self and Falsity in Advaita Vedanta*, p. 118 "....the word 'anirvacaniya' has a positive significance. It has in Sankara's system the status of an independent category an explanatory principle", N.K. Devaraja, *An Introduction to Sankara's Theory of Knowledge*, Motilal Banarasi Dass, Banaras, 2nd Ed. 1972, p. 155.

13. "While discussing the meaning and the role of the term 'anirvacaniya' in the writings of Sankara, scholars have invariably involved themselves in vicious circle". *Ibid.*,p. 150.

14. The dictionary meaning of the term 'anirvacanya' is : 'Unutterable' and 'indescribable'. cf. V.S.Apte, *The Student's Sanskrit English Dictionary*, Motilal Banarasi Dass, 1979, p. 19.

15. In this way he has special meaning for the term '*mithya*'.

16. cf. Ras Vehari Das, "The Theory of Ignorance in Advaitism". *Ajnana*. p. 88.

17. *Tattvapradipikaa*, Nirnaya Sagar Press, 1931, p. 136.

18. N.K. Devaraja, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

19. *Ibid.*

20. P. K. Sundaram, *Advaita Epistomology with Special Reference to Istasiddhi*, University of Madras, 1968, p. 381.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*, p. 382.

23. V.A.Sharma, *Citsuka's contribution to Advaita*. Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore, 1974, p. 78.

24. Asutosh Bhattacarya Shastri, *Studies in post-Sankara Dialectics*, Calcutta University, 1936, p. 243.

25. Cf. Venkatarama lya, *Advaita Vedanta*. Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1964, p. 161-163 : Also, A.K.Roy Chowdhury, *Doctrine of Maya*, p. 46.

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. *Sankara's Works* Memorial Edition, Vol.I.P.2. ; *Upadesa Sahasri* (*Sankara's Works*), Memorial Edition, Vol. xiv, p, 131.)

29. *Ibid.*, p.2.

30. *Istasiddhi.*, p. 47.

31. cf. *Tattvapradipika*. Nirnayesagar Press, Bombay, 1931, p. 142.

32. *Ibid.*

23. *Istasiddhi.*, p. I55 ; also, cf. P.K. Sundaram, cp. cit., p. 379.

34. Citsukha, *op. cit.*, p. 140.

35. Anandabadha, *Nyayamakaranda* (with commentary by Citsukha), Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, p. 116.

36. cf. Udayana's *Tatparyaparisuddhi*. Ed. Vindheyaswara Prasad Dwivedi, Government Sanskrit College Library, Banaras, 1911 ; p. 414.

37. cf. A.K.Roy Chowdhury, *Doctrine of Maya*. p. 48,

38. P.K. Sundaram, *op. cit.* P. 383,

39. V.A. Sharma, *Citsukha's contribution to Advaita.* Kavyalaya Publisher, Mysore, 1974, p. 89.

40 A.K. Roy Chowdhury has opined that 'what this correction means is that the *pratibhasika* object does not, did not and will not exist phenomenally (in *vyavaharika* way) in the locus of its presentation '. *Doctrine of Maya,* p. 51.

41. Ibid., cf. also *Istasiddhi.* p. 95.

42. *Ibid.*

43. Ramanuja, *Sribhasya,* Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay, 1916, p. 182.

44. *Ibid.,* p. 181.

45. T.M.P.Mahadevan, *The Philosophy of Advaita.,* Ganesh and Co. Pvt. Ltd., Madras, 3rd Ed. 1969, p. 107.

46. cf. S.S.Suryanarayana Sastri's Introduction to *Siddhantales Sangraha,* Madras University Edition, Vol. I., p. 28.

47. Ramarayakavi, *Sankarasankarabhasyavimarsah,* Cuntur, 1953., p. 322. Quoted by R. Balasubramanian, *Advaita Vedanta,* Madras University, 1976, p. 97.

48. cf.R. Balasubramanian, 9op. cit.

49. Ramarayakavi uses the terms 'paramartha-rajata' ; and aparamartha-rajata for the 'silver' and the 'nacre silver' respectively. But this is wrong uses of terms. The silver in the market is empirically real or *vyavaharika, sattva* for according to Advaita Vedanta only Brahman belongs to the category of paramarthika satta and nothing else.

50. P.K. Sundaram, op. cit., p. 382.

51. cf. A.K. Roy Chowdhury, *Doctrine of Maya.* p. 57.

52. Ramanuja, *Sribhasya.* p. 182.

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Nayayamakaranda,* p. 116.

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THE GREAT DEBATE ON FOREIGN POLICY : SUHRAWARDY IN RETROSPECT.

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During the time of Jinnah, Pakistan steered a cautious foreign policy without being *committed formally* to any bloc. Pakistan recognised Red China on 4th January, 1950. What is more, Liaquat once threatened that "Pakistan must not be taken for granted : Pakistan is not a camp-follower".[1] But beneath the apparent neutrality of foreign policy Pakistan was subservient to the western bloc. The camouflage was, however, exposed when Liaquat immediately responded to an invitation of President Truman and visited the United States and Canada. The visit resulted, among others, in Pakistan getting $ 600,000 under Truman's point four programme.[2] The Soviet Russia had earlier invited him for a state visit. He was officially not committed to either of the invitations for a long time. Sir Firoze Khan Noon, a prominent member of the Constituent Assembly said in the Parliament that Liaquat was asked in America as to why the Pakistan press reacted coldly to Liaquat's accepting Truman's invitation and conversely hailed Stalin's invitation to visit Russia, which was turned down.[3] However, the pursuit of undefined neutral foreign policy with an implied pro-western tendency received its quietus at the hand of Mohammad Ali (Bogra) in 1954 and was replaced by a positively committed one of whose effects on politics persisted till 1958 and even beyond. When Suhrawardy became Prime Minister the controversy over foreign policy was ubiquitous.

Suhrawardy was to give a crucial test of his leadership on foreign policy. Though foreign policy did not formally feature in the U.F.'s 21-point programme, nevertheless in the election campaigns pro-western foreign policy was denounced. What was more, in the opinion of some foreign newspapers one of the causes of the M.L.'s failure in the elections was foreign policy.[4] The crescendo of criticism against foreign policy was always on the increase, because the people had no inkling of the government's foreign policy in the shape of pacts nor had the latter had ever told the people about the exact nature of its alliances. It was public ignorance allowed by the successive governments which made fears a mountain of a molehill vis-a-vis military pacts. Apart from Pakistan's signing the Mutual Defence Assistance Agreement with the U.S. and joining the S.E.A.T.O. in 1954, she also became a member of the Baghdad Pact* in 1955. All these were done behind the people's back. The

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politically vigilant people of Pakistan mainly, the East Pakistanis grew more restive about the conduct of foreign policy in a world whose politics were on the throes of great change in approach in the mid 1955s.

This was the so-called 'Geneva spirit'—the denouement of the Geneva Conference of the big powers held in july 1955. The Dullesian containment strategy and Stalin's stonewalling yielded place to "a welcome relaxation of tension in international affairs".[5] The Russian withdrawal from Austria, the invitation of Dr. Adenauer to Moscow, leniency to Turkey and the Krushchev-Bulganin tour of the U.K. preceded by destalinisation speeches anticipated an age of detente. Krushchev wanted to live in peaceful coexistence and redefined Marxism-Leninism saying that socialism could be established all over the world without war, though admitting at the same time that the "economic basis for war will continue as long as capitalism exists, war is no longer inevitable".[6] But Krushchev viewed peaceful coexistence as an appropriate weapon to fight "against imperialism in all its forms and manifestations".[7] In other words, this was a new Soviet anti-western offensive in the non-aligned world of Afro-Asia in the garb of peaceful coexistence. Soviet Russia doled out economic and military aid unconditionally to the emerging countries and put her weight and prestige behind them whose political movements were in the realm of anti-colonialism. The Krushchev-Bulganin tour of the non-aligned world in late 1955 was demonstrative of Russian policy. Along with these new trendsi n international politics was the technological revolution and which witnessed production of more lethal nuclear and thermonuclear weapons long range air power, missiles, rockets, etc., etc. This new situation challenged the existing importance of local bases in the case of a nuclear flare-up.

How then did all these new phenomena of world politics affect Pakistanis ? Firstly, they saw that aid could be had without entering into pacts—non-aligned countries were the examples. Secondly, any sort of possible foreign bases in Pakistan under the pact system would be vulnerable to rocket attacks. The third consideration was rather of overriding importance, in that Pakistan still could not have the Kashmir problem solved in her favour, one of the cardinal reasons for which she had entered into western alliances. People found government facing difficulties in holding bilateral talks with India vis-a-vis Kashmir since Pandit Nehru saw a qualitative change in the status quo of the Kashmir problem as soon as Pakistan became a party to military alliances sponsored by the U.S. The Kashmir issue could not be solved peacefully—held Nehru—as Pakistan military alliances brought about a "climate of war"[8] in the subcontinent. So to the critics Pakistan's association with the western world was apparently a hindrance rather than a help to the Kashmir cause.

Now we are to examine American position—Pakistan's chief ally. George P. Kennan, one of the architects of American post-war foreign policy

had always doubts in regard to the adequacy of military association and particularly on the ground "whether the participation of smaller states can really add very much to the ability of the great powers to assure stability of international life".[9] For the U.S., the late 1950s marked the beginning of a realisation of a doubt pertaining to the sheer adequacy of military alliances ; for, "world affairs had ... largely left the quasi-military phase behind".[10] The germs of an American foreign policy shift were already there when Suhrawardy came to power in Pakistan. The same Eisenhower regime which was responsible for initiating all kinds of military pacts earlier in 1954 became more mellowed in its attitude toward the non-aligned world at the very end of its tenure. Neutralism which was dismissed by Dulles once as "immoral" now attained a modicum of respectability. This new American definition of neutralism was best illustrated by a study prepared for the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1959 : "Neutrality in Asia is closely related to nationalism... United States policy must recognise that most Asian States do not consider the struggle between the Soviets and the west nearly as important as their national problems of consolidating a stable goverment and achieving economic progress and social change."[11] Based on this new realisation the U.S. vied with the U.S.S.R. in giving generous aid to the neutrals—a wooing process. But with this new sense of urgency in giving economic aid to the developing countries so as to deter the spread of communism, the U.S. did not explain the compatibility of pursuing a contradictory dual policy. On the one hand she was associated with the non-aligned world in terms of unconditional aid-giving—a symbol of detente—on the other, simultaneously she was equally associated with her militarily aligned colleague-nations in terms of conditional aid-giving—a symbol of belligerency. This was both anomalous and dangerous for a pact-signing country like Pakistan which was a neighbour of two giant communist countries e.g.Russia and Red China and also between two neutrals, India and Afghanistan. In brevity, this was the trend of international politics obtaining at that point of time in the light of which Pakistan foreign policy had to be dealt with by Suhrawardy.

Suhrawardy began by saying that Pakistan foreign policy meant 'friendship towards all and malice towards none'. He assured the country that "the government is fully alive to the changing international kaleidoscope and will do everything in its power to preserve the interests of Pakistan."[12] He boldly embarked upon a state visit to Red China on October 16, 1956. Prior to this, the name Red China was a taboo in official pronouncement in Pakistan. The Chinese sojourn of the Prime Minister augured a refreshing change. The chinese Prime Minister, Chou En Lai came to visit Pakistan in December, 1956 as a *quid pro quo*. While India's air had been ringing with the chantings of "Hindi-Russo bhai bhai" (Hindustan and Russia are

brothers) "Hindi-Chini bhai bhai" (Hindustan and China are brothers) following the earlier visits of Krushchev, Bulganin and Chou En Lai in that country, the Pakistanis felt an acute sense of remoteness from the socialist world and jealous about India's new relationship with both socialist and non-socialist countries. This time the Pakistanis made up the deficiency by rending the sky even more vociferously with the cries of "Pakistan-Chini bhai bhai" (Pakistan and China are brothers). All the big cities of Pakistan wore a festive look to accord reception to Chou En Lai. Even the fanatical people of the tribal areas of West Pakistan did not hesitate to treat the Red leader with their traditional gifts of lambs. Obviously, East Pakistan was more enthusiastic as Bhasani was the President of the East Pakistan A.L. (Awami League)— the party in power of that province. More than 100,000 people congregated to listen to Chou in a meeting held at Paltan Maidan.[13] Suhrawardy allowed people to participate in this new situation which had bearings on foreign relations in order to acclimatize the people to the new trends of Pakistan foreign policy in the perspective of changing world. Chou's visit was followed by his sending a Chinese Trade Delegation to Pakistan to pave the way for commercial transactions between the two countries. Regarding the U.S.S.R. Suhrawardy sent a Pakistan Parliamentary Delegations there and ultimately a trade agreement was signed between the two countries, the U.S.S.R. and Pakistan. As far as the Eastern Democracies were concerned the Pakistan Ambassadors In Moscow and Switzerland were accredited as Ministers to Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Austria and Poland. Burma was visited by Prime Minister himself. Similar arrangements were made in regard to Indonesia, Ceylon and Afghanistan. In establishing various relations, cultural and commercial, with the neutral and communist countries Prime Minister gave a new orientation to country's foreign policy, in that it reflected the realism of international politics vis-a-vis Pakistan's.

Candidly, the Prime Minister interpreted the new approach of Pakistan foreign policy in the following speech ; "It is true that in the adjustment of our way of life, we have more in common with those countries that are known as free democracies and which believe that it is possible for the nations of the world to live in accordance with their own lives...that all of us are actuated by the motive of advancing the welfare...of our peoples, and yet with all this diversity, we should be able to live side by side in peace and harmony and cooperate with each other in the interest of our peoples and for the welfare of the world."[14] Evidently, this new line of foreign policy short of Pakistan's coming out of the military pacts completely was not liked by the leftist elements of the country, least of all by the left wing elements of the A.L. In the formative phase of the A.L. many an 'unmarked" element managed to smuggle into the party.* Bhasani, the East Pakistan head of the A.L. was always a willing accomplice to this leftist group. Now that their party was

in power both at the centre and East Pakistan they wanted Suhrawardy to declare an independent neutral foreign policy unattached to any bloc, east or west, whatever.

The inner pressure that had been brought to bear upon the Prime Minister by the A.L. leftwingers to change the foreign policy suddenly surfaced with all its fury as soon as Britain (a member of the Baghdad Pact), France and Israel attacked Egypt on account of Suez Canal in October 1956. It gave an impetus to the agitation as the victim of the Anglo-France attack was a Muslim country. A new dimension was added to the already overwrought atmosphere of anti-imperialism i.e. religious fervour. The whole populace of Pakistan, as it were, came out into the open streets of both part of Pakistan and performed all rituals meticulously which were associated with any kind of hostile demonstration. Bhasani let loose his tongue-batteries in lashing out the "barbarous" and "treacherous" acts of aggression on the peace-loving Egyptian peoples by the imperialists.[15]

The Pakistan government was embarrassed at Britain's involvement in the Suez adventure in that she had expected the British government to send an advance note to her indicating the British position. According to the President Mirza this came telegraphically at the eleventh hour facing the Pakistan government with a *fait accompli.* Having asked the Shah of Iran to arrange a meeting of the Muslim members of the Baghdad Pact at Teheran—the Prime Minister was away in China—President Mirza himself boarded his Viscount aircraft *en route* to Teheran.*

Returning home amid an anti-western climate the Prime Minister felt the country's pulse and condemned the Anglo-France action with cautious words but chose only Israel to be branded as an aggressor. The prime Minister flew into Teheran to confer with his Muslim colleagues of the Baghdad Pact which resulted in the issuance of a unanimous statement on November 8, 1956 condemning Israel as aggressor and asking Britain and France "to end hostilities immediately, to withdraw their forces from Egypt".[16] Pakistan's role in the two London conferences on the Suez Canal crisis was notable, in that she helped to obtain recognition of Egypt's sovereign rights to nationalise the canal but at the same time she insisted on the freedom of navigation in Canal in keeping with the 1888 Convention which Egypt had to admit herself. Suhrawardy claimed on behalf of the Muslim of the Baghdad pact countries to have been a party to the withdrawal of the Anglo-French forces from the Egyptian territory and Anglo-French willingness to submit the issue to the U.N.[17] It was both a very delicate and difficult situation for a Muslim country to avoid being emotionally involved and to see things in proper perspective. But Suhrawardy's pragmatism stood him in good stead.*

With the Anglo-French troops withdrawn from Fgypt and a Pakistan offer of troops to be stationed at the Middle East under the U.N. supervision

indignantly rejected by Col. Nasser, the earlier opposition to the foreign policy begun to peter out. Suhrawardy who had all along been, rather tendentiously, advocating a strong decision-making U.N. saw in the recent emergence of the U.N.E.F. (United Nations Emergency Force) in connection with the Middle East crisis, a ray of hope for the solution of the Kashmir problem. As soon as the Indian government proposed to annex the disputed Kashmir valley into Indian territory, Suhrawardy immediately availed himself of the opportunity of pressing the matter into the Security Council of the U.N., so that some such U.N.E.F. could be sent to Kashmir pending the final plebiscite therein. A Resolution to that effect was voted upon on the 24th January, 1957 in the Security Council. Needless to say, the Resolution foundered on the rock of a Soviet veto. The Second Resolution made the best of a bad bargain in maintaining the status quo (voting highlights 10-0, the U.S.S.R. abstained.) in Kashmir.[18] It was, however, the voting of the member-nations in the Security Council which mattered, for the time being, much more for Pakistan foreign policy than the actual results. In justification of his foreign policy Suhrawardy could now say that all the member-nations in the Security Council but Russia voted for Pakistan. It was just due to the generous use of the Russian veto which technically went in favour of India. But it could not be gainsaid that it was due to Suhrawardy's able handling of the foreign policy* that the Kashmir Issue was revived under the torch of world opinion which had been fossilized in the U.N. for a long tine. The Pakistan reactions were best illustrated in the testimony given by an influential opposition M.P. in his speech in the N.A. which ran as follows : "In India they have burnt your** effigy but remember that the day they were burning your effigy, the nation was deciding to raise your statue in evey street of every town of Pakistan...you have succeeded in arousing world conscience (behind Kashmir) to an extent never before achieved."[19]

In this connection we want to add a footnote to an opinion shared by many that Suhrawardy relied more on the western powers in solving Kashmir issue and less on the good neighbourly relations to solve the same. Secondly, that the Prime minister ought to have gone straight from the Security Council to the General Assembly to force a decision on India.[20] Since 1947 Suhrawardy, at the risk of his life, had worked for the closer relations of the two countries, India and Pakistan. He lost his Indian platform after the demise of Gandhi. Then, he lost his membership in the Constituent Assembly I on the ground that he was too much of an Indian working jealously to give effect to a document called the Charter of Minority Rights, concerning both India and Pakistan. He believed ferevently that the success of Indo-Pakistan relations would be the basis for the solution of mutual problems which in turn depended upon the attitudes both the countries would be willing to show to their respective minorities. To this direction, Suhrawardy's record was, no doubt, glorious.

What was more, when the Kashmir issue was being hotly debated in the Security Council Suhrawardy sent a delegation to India consisting of his closest followers—this delegation and its gift of a big jar of pure honey to Nehru came under scathing criticism in the N.A.—which resulted in the Indian's chanting Pakistan-Bharat bhai bhai (Pakistan and India are brothers). The Prime Minister defended it by saying that "this should be our attitude... we are not at war with the Indian people. I do not want to create enmity between people and people, because we are contesting the Kashmir case in an international forum."[21]

As to the question of the Prime Minister's not going to the General Assembly Suhrawardy had this to say : "We must prepare the ground before we do so."[22] He thought and perhaps correctly so, that despite the fact that Pakistan was overwhelmingly supported in the Security Council and outside as well, Pakistan could not take the risk of going into the General Assembly ; for, the requisite number of votes might not have been their to back a resolution—a job which was to be done in the course of time and through intense lobbying.

However, Suhrawardy's handling of the Suez and Kashmir issues gave a booster to Pakistan's pro-western foreign policy and with that prestige behind the Prime Minister faced the East Pakistanis—the most critical people of his foreign policy. In a series of public and privately organised meetings in different parts of East Pakistan Suhrawardy vigorously defended his foreign policy and surprisingly rallied the largest sectors of public opinion behind his policy including those of the informed opinions, namely intelligentsia, students, teachers, lawyers, etc., etc. The most memorable was his 90-minute extempore speech delivered in a student meeting held in the S.M. Hall*—a graduate student residential hall proverbially credited with the glory of producing pupils who become, later on, leaders of science, economics, politics, administration and the academic world in Pakistan society. He told his audience that nations comprising of human beings were involved. Hence neutrality was at best a misnomer at worst 'a species of blackmail'. Neutrality did not save many a country in the 2nd World War. The pacts Pakistan entered into were defensive in nature and in accordance with the U.N. Charter (Art. 51), and Bandung Conference in which 29 Afro-Asian countries participated. He continued that Pakistan was weak both economically and militarily and could neither stay in isolation nor flourish without aid. He warned students not to be always gullible about cliches like western imperialism. The Russian hegemony over the so-called satellite countries such as Bulgaria, Czecholovakia, Albania, Hungary, East Germary and Poland, was a species of neo-imperialism. He refreshed the memories of his young audience by citing the recent tragedy of Hungary. In a world where a 'balance of terror'** between two great rival

powers i.e. the U.S.S.R. and U.S. prevailed—the Prime Minister maintained —there was no possibility of Pakistan's being involved in a nuclear war as in the flare-up "there will be no victor, there will be no vanquished... both will lie in the dust".[23] He convinced his audiences that the current foreign policy of Pakistan was positive and met the terrestrial considerations.

This was an extraordinary feat in that the Prime Minister won the support of the student community and a large part of the previously hostile press—a critical sector which all his predecessors had been at pains to avoid—at a time when the whole country was demanding severance of its ties with the Commonwealth, the Baghdad and S.E.A.T.O. pacts fuelled by a tide of popular sentiment in favour of Egypt. Even so, he succeeded in carrying for his party a series of 'hotly contested' bye-elections in East Pakistan by virtue of sheer democratic combatativeness and energy "which have confounded his opponents and astonished his warmest admirers".[24]

All governments have an inner urge for keeping their respective foreign policies above party politics since they are regarded as instruments of national interest. Difference in matters of emphasis within the framework of substantial agreement are tolerated among the party-oriented democratic governments, but the presence of fundamental discord as to what constitutes national interests vis-a-vis foreign policy among parties or among the composing members of a given party is a pregnant situation from which foreign policy cannot be separated from the country's internal politics. This was exactly the situation which Pakistan had reached.

The A.L. like the Labour Party of Britain, came to power after having remained in opposition for long year. While in opposition both these two parties found fault with the then existing governments and promised the millennium to the people if returned to power. When they did come to power and faced the reality of government the heritage of a host of irresponsible utterances or commitments made during the days of the opposition became somewhat emabrrassing to them. So far as the A.L. was concerned almost all its members except Suhrawardy and a handful of them had condemned the Pakistan pro-western foreign policy and military alliances while in opposition. Its party manifesto envisaged an independent foreign policy divorced from military alliances. The party was chary about military pacts lest they should encroach upon Pakistan's sovereignty. This was due to the fact that the party and for that matter the public in general had no inkling whatever in the nature of agreement Pakistan had entered into the Pacts. It was a case of 'ignorance thy name is fear'. An amendment was incorporated into the existing party resolution in October, 1955 in the following terms that all the copies of the pacts and agreements should be placed before the parliament for the scrutiny of the representatives of the people. If the pacts were found to be prejudicial to Pakistan sovereignty they would be repudiated,[25]

This amendment took place after the Consitiuent Assembly II came into being.

On seeing the Prime Minister's growing success in the defence of his foreign policy Bhasani and his leftist lieutenants summoned an A.L. council meeting at Kagmari—Bhasani's village. It was meant to be both an A.L. council meeting and a cultural conference. The Kagmari Conference was given such a wide publicity as though it was going to be a jamboree of all progressive clements—the first of its kind in Pakistan. The word Kagmari was on everybody's lips in Pakistan in February, 1957. New unmetalled roads were built up connecting all parts of East Pakistan to Kagmari. Soon, an expression like 'all roads lead to Kagmari' came into vogue—a leftist propaganda achievement. Beneath the apparent cover of a down to earth party meeting Kagmari was virtually converted into the headquarters of a new movement through immaculate and elaborate arrangements made by the dedictated leftists attached to the A.L. Huge gates paying homage to Marx, Lenin, Gorky, Bernard Shaw, *Gandhi*, *Subhas Bose** in the midst of decorative flags and buntings, were erected. Literary personages with leftist leanings from India were invited.** Thousands of pigeons were caught to be let loose at the start of the meeting as a symbol of peace.[26]

What was the political message hidden in all this decorative ballyhoo? The Gates supposedly representing the most eminent people of the world, in fact, represented the socialist cum communist world as the number of gates, their sizes and art of placing would give a decisive proof to that end. Western statesmen were completely left out—Jinnah's gate had to be there, though ill-placed.* This was the second phase of the leftist movement that had once veered around the U.F. in 1954.**

Suhrawardy came to confront his party at Kagmari. Debates on the foreign policy continued for the whole night of 8th February, 1957. The split between the right and left wing of the party on foreign policy touched off another controversy, in that both the rival groups claimed endorsement for their respective stands by the Council. Mujibur Rahman (General Secretary, East Pakistan Awami League), Ataur Rahman (Chief minister of East Pakistan) and Suhrawardy denied Bhasani's version and insisted that 98 per cent present in the Council meeting endorsed the government's foreign policy.[27]

Meanwhile the repercussions of the Kagmari Conference produced another boon for Suhrawarby. To the rightist parties like the M.L. N.I.P. K.S.P. (Muslim League, Nizame-Islam, Krishak Sramik Party) etc., etc., the Kagmari episode was an overdose of Communist and progressive ingredients difficult to digest. To them, the recent movements, overt or covert, manifested in the Kagmari Conference were signs of homage to both Communism and Bharat (India)—the worst enemies of Pakistan.[28] The M.L. working committee, the

Council of N.I.P. and K.S.P. in their respective party resolution reinforced their support to the prime Minister on foreign policy.[29]

Suhrawardy then brought the matter before the N.A.* This was the first time in the history of Pakistan politics that a Prime Minister moved a motion in the House in regard to the approval of his foreign policy by having submitted the white paper on aid, copies of the Pacts and documents of the U.S.-Pakistan Mutual Defense Assistance Agreement to the N.A. It was, however, not the case that the Prime Minister was committed to a dogged perseverance in the retention of the present policy for all time to come nor was he unresponsive towards the current leftist criticism against foreign policy. It was a question of a fundmental nature i.e. under the Westminster system to what extent the party in power would be justified in rejecting foreign commitments given by the outgoing party. If the parties were to come to power in order to cancel each other's deeds frequently the country was bound to go down in international evaluation, let alone instability at home. That was why the Prime Minister reminded the House that "a continuity is maintained in foreign policy matters and transitions are gradual'.[30] He did not rule out the possibility of a change in foreign policy when "expediency may cause us to trim our sails"[31] but the criterion of that change would be national interest as understood in the context of world politics. He had the clear vision of anticipation when he declared that "when the crucial time comes China* will come to our assistance (Cheers)".[32] Having reflected a new mood and approach in the application of foreign policy Suhrawardy had already demonstrated that Pakistan was capable of having terms for political, economic and strategic reasons, with all countries outside of free democracies without jeopardising her formal relation with the west, particularly the U.S. Judged from that angle Suhrawardy was as responsive to the genuine anxieties of the leftist critics as he was to the global politics.

However, defending the fruitfulness of joining the Pacts as he ably did, the Prime Minister's leadership seemed inadequate in one important area, in that he could not stem the tide of imbalance in the government priorities pertaining to the allocations of aid received through the pursuit of particular line of foreign policy. Was Pakistan not sacrificing the quality of its national life to the demands of a military establishment ? Could he not help Pakistanis the way he did in many an affair prick the bubble of the fear of Indian aggression on Pakistan and siphon funds off from military expenditure into nation-building activities ? Would it not prevent national values from being grotesquely distorted and add moral grandeur to Pakistan foreign policy ? Who were the beneficiaries of the foreign policy in the final analysis, really ? Was the expenditure on defence aid to Pakistan achieving anything like value for money ?* Would it not have been better to make Pakistan economically

viable and let her spend money on armament according to her own real capability ? A British M.P., John Dugdale, sighed that "Even if half the sum spent on defence aid in the last five years had been devoted to helping her develop her basic industries, it would have been a far better insurance against communism"[33] But the Prime Minister could be excused on the ground of Pakistan psychology at the time ; for, had he tried to curtail military expenditure it would have amounted to stoning at the hornet's nest. The night of October 1954 was still fresh in public memory "when, with a general to the right of him and a general to the left of him, a half mad Governor-General imposed upon a captured Prime Minister the dissolution of the Constituent Assembly."[34] So, on that point he chose to remain on the tactical political level in not rationing the fodder of the sacred cow, the Army, when the general mood of the country was not in favour. His was the biding of time before acting which in turn depended on the holding of early general elections.*

However, the Prime Minister's leadership in foreign policy was not dogmatic ; for, he laid down all his cards on the table of the N.A. for the scrutiny of the people's representatives. The N.A. overwhelmingly approved the country's foreign policy** (40 : 2)—only Mian Bari (Independent) and Mian Iftikheruddin (A.P.P.) (Azad Pakistan Party) voted against.[35]

But the Prime Minister was still not out of the wood. Bhasani could not accept the parliamentary approval of the foreign policy with good grace. Nothing could please the A.L. leftwingers short of rejecting the pro-western foreign policy and walking out of the military alliances. The A.L. now lurched very close to open split. Bhasani threw down the gauntlet by resigning from the presidency of the All Pakistan A.L. on March, 1957.[36] Now the Bhasani-Suhrawardy showdown within the party became inevitable. The Council Meeting of the A.L. was called in mid-June, 1957 to settle the foreign policy issue decisively and discuss Bhasani's resignation. Prior to the meeting Bhasani began a self-purifying fast Gandhian in style in sympathy for the common people who were facing rising prices. But tactically speaking, his choice of occasion could not be dissociated from the simultaneous holding of the council of the Baghdad pact in Karachi.[37]

However, the trial of strength went decisively in favour of the Prime Minister in that the Council approved the foreign policy by 800 to 25 votes.[38] The right-wingers were distressed even at their victory that the two leaders, Bhasani and Suhrawardy should have clashed so openly. That was why they did not accept his resignation.[39] Obviously, there was no one to replace Suhrawardy at the national parlamentary level. Similarly, Bhasani's irreplacibility in terms of his organising ability and mass contact was unthinkable to the party. It was a great political tragedy for the party—certainly, no less for the entire country as the subsequent events would testify—that both Bhasani and

Suhrawardy became so antithetic to each other on matters of foreign policy. What was once said of Adenaur (C.D.U.) and Dr. Schuacher (S.P.P.) in regard to their respective stands of foreign policy that "seldom has a country suffered such heavy political consequences from the antipathy between two men",[40] could equally be said of Suhrawardy and Bhasani who chose to find foreign policy as their main ground of mutual disagreement. It was in the realm of foreign policy that a rapprochement between the two wings of the A.L. was warranted for the sake of national interest and ensuing general election. But it could not work out as their respective attitudes were antagonistic to each other, stock, lock and barrel. This cleavage in the A.L., however, had one redeeming feature in that it punched the A.L. into a vigorous process of winnowing which had been rather overdue. As a natural corollary the party tended to be now composed of members with homogenious people of both the wings of Pakistan which in turn gave more cohesion to the organisation. In this connection we want to establish the most important point regarding centre's clamping down 92A rule in East Pakistan in 1954 without giving a chance to the rightist elements to fight the leftists on political platform. If the fear of Communist takeover of East Pakistan was one of the reasons that led the centre to freeze parliamentary machineries in East Pakistan, at the expense of the rightists, the events of late 1956 and early 1957 proved without the slightest shadow of doubt that how wrongly the central government of 1954 had overestimated the leftist elements and underestimated the rightist ones. Did not Suhrawardy fight with all the armoury of parliamentary democracy, defeat the leftists on political platform and rally the nation overwhelmingly behind his foreign policy ? It demolished the myth of 1954 that leftist-oriented politics deserved to be tackled *administratively* only, not *politically*. Apart from Suhrawardy's establishing the parliamentary strength to resolve conflicts in favour of moderation, he restored the right to the N.A. to question the country's foreign policy for the first time, and gave the people a sense of participation* in the stimulating public debates on foreign policy which were going on country-wide.

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11. Coulon Association Ltd., *U.S.Foreign Policy : Asia* (U.S. Government Printing Office : November 1959), p. 15.

12. *N.A.D.*, VOL. I, February 22, 1957, p. 912.

13. *New York Times,* December 30, 1956.

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* I have dealt with this point adequately in my forthcoming book—The life and Time of H.S. Suhrawardy—1947-1963.

15. *Dawn,* Novemver 7, 1956.

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*. In the Conservative Party Conference at Brighton, Suhrawardy's statesmanship was quoted in the foreign policy debates. *Dawn's* correspondent in London, Nasim Ahmed, reported. See *Dawn,* October 12, 1957.

18. For details, see Pir Ali Mohammed Rashdi's Speech *NAD,* Vol. I, February 23, 1957, p. 967.

* "Suhrawardy had displayed qualities of decision in Suez and Kashmir issue." See *Times.* May 12, 1957.

** Suhrawardy.

19. *NAD* Vol. 1, February 23, 1957, p. 1017.

20. Suleri Z.A. *Politicians and Ayub,* (Progressive Papers Ltd., 1964), 116.

21. *NAD,* Vol. I, February 25, 1957, p. 1093.

22. *NAD,* VOL. I, February 25, 1957, p. 1094.

* The author remembers having been there in the meeting with his student colleagues in order to shout down the Prime Minister with questions on the foreign policy. The meeting ended in giving a hearty applause to the Prime Minister.

** "A potential aggressor is 'balanced' at each level of violence if his objectives can be denied him at that level, if his costs of fighting at that level would be higher than his expectation of gain." Glenn H. Snyder, *Deterrence and Defense toward a theory of national security,* (Princetion University Press : 1963), p. 48.

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* They were all Indian political and literary figures.

** For instance, Monoz Bose, Tarasankar Bandhapadhaya, Sukanta Roy, Provod Sanyal.

26. See *Dawn,* February 8, 9, 13, 1957.

* The writer vividly remembers all these as he was at Kagmari along with his other inquisitive friends.

** Again, Pakistan was featured in the psychological warfare of international politics. Both the Moscow and Peking radios gave an exclusive coverage of the Kagmari conference the way they did in 1954 when the U.F. swept the general elections of East Pakistan. See H.H. Chowdhury's Speech, NAD, Vol, I, February 23, 1957. p. 999.

27. *Hindu,* February 12, 1957.

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29. See *Ibid.,* February 14, 27, 1957.

* National Assembly

30. *NAD* Vol. I, February 22, 1957, p. 912.

31. *Ibid.,* p. 928.

* This prophey came true, perhaps not the way it was meant to be.

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33. See *Manchester Guardian,* March 11, 1958.

34. *Dawn.* August 11, 1957 (Editorial) "Revolution".

* The subsequent events proved that the more the Prime Minister pressed for general elections, the greater was his experience of resistance, both visible and invisible.)

** The M.L. and K.S.P. abstained for party reasons. They did so not because they disagreed with the Foreign Policy but because of its mode of handling.

35. *N.A.D.,* Vol . I, February 25, 1957, p. 1102.

36. See *Times,* March 22, 1957 ; also *Daily Telegraph,*

37. *Times,* June 14, 1957.

38. See *Dawn,* June 14, 1957 ; also *Manchester Guardian,* June 14, 1957.

39. See *Times,* June 17, 1957.

40. R. Hiscocks, *Democracy in Western Germany* (Oxford University Press : London : 1957) p. 116.

* The author distinctly remembers that in one of the Prime Minister's public meetings at Dacca in early 1957 an ordinary member of the audience stopped the Prime Minister in the midst of his speech saying politely with his hands folded if the Prime Minister would care to repeat some of the facts on Kashmir he had unfortunately missed due to his arriving late in the meeting. Moved, the Prime Minister smilingly repeated things he had covered earlier.

J. A. S. B. (Hum). Vol. XXIX (2), 1984.

Review Article

THE TITLE OF THE INDIAN WAHHABIS : A REVIEW

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In the shorter encyclopaedia of Islam in Bengali published by the Islamic Foundation, Bangladesh it has been stated that the Islamic reformation and freedom movement led by Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bereli was termed Wahhabi movement by the British Government connecting it with the Arabian reform movement in order to discredit the movement.[1] According to Dr. Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan the adherents of the reform movement launched by sayyid Ahmad Shahid "called their movement Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah or the path of Muhammad and called themselves and their followers"Muhammadi." Some of their opponents especially the government officials designated their reform movement as Wahhabism or Indian Wahhabism by way of reproach"[2] Professor Habibullah, a renowned historian, opines that in 1870 Hunter named it Wahhabi movement in his work, *Our Indian Musalmans.*[3] Justice Abdul Maudud,[4] Mr. Mohammad Azraf[5] and Mr. Abul Kasem Bhuyan[6] maintain that the movement has been dubbed Wahhabi movement by the English. It is now, a generally accepted view that the British Indian Government termed the adherents of the nineteenth century Muslim reformation movement in India launched by Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi (1786-1831 A.D.) 'Wahhabis" in order to discredit them among the Muslim masses. The purpose of the present article is to examine this theory about the title of the Indian Wahhabis and to show that it is historically unsound.

The term Wahhabi had been applied to the followers of Muhammad Ibne Abdul Wahhab of Najd (1703-1792 A.D./1115-1206 A.H.) by his opponents even during his lifetime, though it is not definitely known who was the first to apply the term.[7] Ibne Abdul Wahhab's puritanic movement of reform has come to be known as the Wahhabi movement. The Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah movement in India launched by Barlewi in 1818 had not been influenced by the Wahhabi movement of Arabia.[8] It was purely of Indian origin drawing inspiration from the writings of Shah Waliullah Muhaddith of Delhi (1703-1762 A.D.) who was said to have been a fellow student of Muhammad Ibne Abdul Wahhab at Mecca. Both Waliullah and Ibne Abdul Wahhab had been influenced by the selfsame scholars of Mecca. Both the Wahhabi movement of Arabia and the Tariqah-i-Muhammadiya movement of India, being fundamentalist in character, there had been some points of

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similarity between the two. According to Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi, the reactionary elements in the indian Muslim community declared the adherents of the reform movement launched by Barelwi as "Wahhabis".[9] Dr. Mahmud Husain is of the opinion that when the British Indian Goverment applied the word Wahhabi to the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, it had already been applied to them by Maulawi Fzl-i-Rasul of Badayun (d.1872 A.D.).[10]

It should be remembered that the term Wahhabi was applied not to all the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid but to a section of them who resembled the Arabian Wahhabis in some points and rejected taqlid.[11] Dr. Mahmud Husain writes,

> there came a change in the general attitude of at least one section of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. He himself had discouraged sectarian feelings and scrupulcusly avoided creating ill will among the Muslims over unimportant matters. He had not taken up an uncompromising attitude even on the fundamental question of taqlid. But there was a group among his followers who adhered to extreme Wahhabi views and rejected taqlid. They called themeselves Ahl-i-Hadith and resented the term Wahahabi.[12]

It will be wrong to assume, as some writers do, that the group among the followers to Barelwi "who adhered to extreme Wahhabi views and rejected taqlid" came into existence after Barelwi had died a martyr at Balakot in 1831 A.D. But they had been among his followers since the very beginning. In the beginning of the reform momement there were a few controversial issues, one of which was taqlid.[13] The "followers of Sayyid Ahmad had been divided, even during his lifetime, into two opposing groups"[14] on the issue of taqlid. A large section of his followers was led by Maulawi Abdul Hai and Maulawi Karamat Ali Jawnpuri. Both of them were sincere adherents of sunni practices. Their opposing group was led by Maulawi Ismail who rejected the taqlid of Imam Abu Hanifa, Imam Malik, Imam Shafi and Imam Ahmad bin Hanbal and established the right of private interpretation.[15]

Mr. Zia-ul-Hasan Faruqi is of the opinion that a controversy

> occupied the minds of some of the Indian Ulama in the first half of the nineteenth century with regard to the reasonableness of adopting without investigation the religious and legal interpretations of the individuals that belonged to different schools of Islamic jurisprudence. The controversy, though old, was for the first time explicitly raised on the Indian scene by shah Ismail who.. presented himself as one unprepared to accept in matters of religion the obligation of any individual authoity without investigating his reasons.[16]

According to Mr. Faruqi, Maulawi Shah Ismail "was a firebrand mujahid, a real Wahhabi and a bold reformer".[17] In the opinion of Sir Sayyid Ahmad

Khan, 'Maulawi Ismail was the man whose preaching worked marvels on the feelings of Mahomedans"[18] In 1853 an impartial analyst commenting upon Maulawi Ismail writes, "During the present century India has not produced another man similarly enterprising".[19] Dr. Iqbal would often say, "Up to the present, India has produced one Maulawi only and he is Maulawi Mahammad Ismail".[20] Mr. Hasan Ali Nadwi has mentioned the names of a few Indian Ulama having original modes of thinking, Maulawi Muhammad Ismail is one of them.[21] Professor Habibullah is of the opinion that, inspite of his firm self-confidence, selflessness, and incentive, shah Ismail has a bitter fanaticism in him[22]. Perhaps, Shah Ismail's uncompromising attitude towards un-Islamic beliefs and practices prevalent among the Hinduized Indian Muslims and his insistence upon strict adherence to the injunctions of the Qu'ran and the Hadith have been regarded as his fanaticism by Professor Habibullah.

Sayyid Ahmad, being a recognized Imam, prevented an open rupture between the liberal and the extreme sections of his followers by following a middle course.[23] But after his martyrdom in 1831 the rupture between the sections became irresistible.[24] Thus, the followers of Sayyid Ahmad had divided themselves, even during his lifetime into two opposing groups—pro-taqlid Hanafis and anti-taqlid fundamentalists. The latter group came to be known as the "Wahhabis" but they resented the term Wahhabi and named themselves Ahl-i-Hadith. So, Justice Abdul Maudud's assertion that the Jehadis of Indo-Pak subcontiment were sincere followers of mazhab[25] is a half-truth. The assertion that Maulawi Ismail gave up the right of private interpretation and the practice of rafa-Yadain[26] and came to be recognized as a Hanafi Muqallid,[27] is, perhaps, not correct. His writings are replete with anti-taqlid remarks. He wrote a book entitled Tanwir-ul-Ainain fi Isbate Raf-ul-Yadain, containing forceful arguments in support of rafa-yadain.

Dr. Mahmud Husain is of the opinion that Sayyid Ahmad Shahid "had not taken up an uncompromising attitude even on the fundamental question of taqlid." But what was his attitude towards taqlid ? His view on taqlid has been stated in Sirat-ul-Mustakim, a work, containing his religious opinions, compiled by Shah Muhammad Ismail.[28] It was printed at Calcutta in 1823 after Barelwi had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca.[29] In the said work, Barelwi says,

> In action, following the four sects which prevail throughout the Muhammedan countries is good and excellent, but he should not consider that the knowledge of the Prophet is confined to any single Mujtahid. On the contrary, the knowledge of the Prophet's sayings spread according to the wants of the people all over the world and afterwards were collected in books, so that if on any point he should find an authentic, explicit and unabrogated Hadis, (sic) he should not follow any Mujtahid on that point, but he should consider the Ahli Hadis, (sic) his leader love them and respect them.[30]

From this statement it follows that taqlid is allowable only in absence of authentic Hadith on a point and if there be an authentic Hadith on a point one should not follow any Mujtahid on that point. Thus, Barelwi's view no taqlid goes against the usual practice of a Muqallid who blindly follows the opinion of Mujtahid,[31] though it contradicts authentic Prophetic traditions,[32] a practice that has been condemned by Shah Waliullah Muhaddith of Delhi (1703-1762 A.D.).[33] So Barelwi's view on following a mazhab cannot be regarded as his compromising attitude towards taqlid in its usual sense. On the basis of Barelwi's view on taqlid quoted above, Rai Bahadur S.C.Bose writes in his judgment : "This would show that Saiyad (sic) Ahmad Jehadi was, if anything an Ahl-i-Hadis (sic) to which denomination the plaintiff belongs".[34]

In 1847 Maulawi Wilayat Ali and Maulawi Inayat Ali (d.1858) left Balakot for Swat with the Mujahidin under their command. On their Way to Swat they were caught by Agnew and Lumsden at Haripur. They were sent to Lahore. "Sir Henry Lawrence in a note, dated 13th April, 1847. observed that they were Ghazis, and being considered dangerous characters were forwarded under custody back to their homes at Patna."[35] It should be remembered that Sir Henry Lawrence called wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali Ghazis, not "Wahhabis". According to Dr. Hunter they were "Ghozat or Mujahidin" and "Their title of Wahabi '(sic) belongs to a later period".[36] From this remark of Hunter's it is evident that the British Indian Government applied the term Wahhabi to the followers to Sayyid Ahmad Shahid after 1847. F. Currie, a member of the Governor General's Executive Council in his Minute dated, the 17th November, 1852. called the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid "Sayed Ahmedees".[37] He, too, did not apply the word "Wahhabi". But Maulawi Fazl-i-Rasul Badayuni applied the term "Wahhabi" to the fundamentalist followers of Barelwi at an early stage. Not only did he apply the term Wahhabi to the anti-taqlid followers of Barelwi, but used abusive language to the famous theologians like Imam Ibne Taymiah of Syria (1263-1312 A.D.) and Imam Ibne Hazm of Spain (994-1064 A.D.), the father of Comparative Theology, for their rejection of taqlid. In his word *Saotur Rahman,* Badayuni called Ibne Hazm Khabith (Satan)[38] and Ibne Taymiah (sinner).[39] This single act of Badayuni speaks volumes for the vilest mental attitude of some pro-taqlid traditionalist Alims towards the anti-taqlid fundamentatist Muslims.

The year in which Badayuni applied the word Wahhabi to the anti-taqlid followers of Barelwi, is not known to us. But we definitely know that Maulawi Karamat Ali Jawapuri, a tutor of famous Amir Ali (1849-1928 A.D.) and like him an orthodox Shi'i[40] applied the word Wahhabi to the anti-taqlid followers of Barelwi in his work, *Katul Imam,*written in 1838. In 1246 A.H. / 1831 A.D. some so-called "Wahhabis" from Faridpur,

Beneras and Sahranpur were arrested at Mecca by the Turkish authority over there and were forwarded back to Bomabay. In this connection, Karamat Ali writes in the said work ;

> If any Ummah of the Prophet is oppressed by the mushriks or the atheists and it becomes impossible on his part to act upon the injunctions of Sharia, he takes shelter in a Muslim state, especially in Mecca and Medina. But if the Wahhabis enter those places, they are punished by the local people. Those countries are not like India where one can do as one pleases without protest from others. For this reason, when the Wahhabis find that the people of those countries are against them and are ready to punish them, they search for their refuge even in a country of the infidels. Many Wahhabis have done so.. Oh God, save us +What type of bad mazhab is it that its adherents can not live in a Dar-ul-Islam and have to run about even in a country of the infidels.[41] ?

When a word comes into common use of the masses, it comes into literary use quite soon. So is the case with the word "Wahhabi." When Karamat Ali used the word "Wahhabi" in his work in 1838, it had already been in the vocabulary of the Muslim masses. Titu Mir and his followers were termed "Wahhabis" by their conservative opponents around 1830. Titu Mir was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his movement of reform was no offshoot of the Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah movement launched by Berelwi in 1818.[42] When Titu Mir was preaching the puritan doctrines of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah, some of his "conservative opponents even condemned him and his associates as Wahhabis and disruptionists"[43] and "some Muslim peasantry especially the Hanafis"[44] lodged a few complaints against Titu Mir and his followers with the powerful Hindu Zamindars "who imposed fines on some of the followers of Titu Mir...and subjected them also to other kinds of maltreament."[45] According to Mr.S.A. Ibrahimy, Krishna Dev Roy, the Zamindar of Punrah "declared Titu Mir to be a Wahhabi and advised the Muslims not to obey him."[46] Perhaps, Mr. Ibrahimy is not correct. The Hindus did not use the word Wahhabi ; nor did the English, until after the conservative Muslims had used it. There is no evidence to show that there arose any conflct between Titu Mir and the Hindu Zamindars before some conservative Muslims had lodged a few complaints against Titu Mir and his followers with the Hindu Zamindars. The Hindu zamindars did not interfere in the peaceful preaching of Titu Mir's reformed faith until after they had been appealed to by some conservative Muslims. So the conservative Muslims, it seems, were at the root of all discord.It may be assumed that the Hindu Zamindars had induced the conservative Muslims to lodge a complaint against Titu Mir's followers. But we are yet to know whether the conservative Muslims had been so induced.

The rejectors of taqlid among the followers of Barelwi had no specific name in the beginning. According to The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam in Bengali, when they, for their being similar in some points to the Arabian "Wahhabis", had been termed "Wahhabis" by some of their adversaries, they named themselves Ahl-i-Hadith. The word Ahl-i-Hadith is not yet two hundred years old.[47] This view seems true. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid sued the word "Ahli Hadis" to denote the compilers of Hadith works.[48] But later on it came to denote a group of Indian Muslims who rejected taqlid and had recourse to the Qu'ran and the Hadith for guidance. It is not definitely known when they have chosen the title of Ahl-i-Hadith for themselves. Though the word Ahl-i-Hadith is a new-coined one the Ahl-i-Hadith of India have nothing new in their belief-system and method of observance. According to the above-mentioned encyclopaedia, they follow the former Ahl-al-Hadith and the Zahirites. Their decisions are mostly based on Hadith.[49]

In India, the words Ahl-i-Hadith, Muhammadi, "Ghayer Muqallid", "Lamazhabi" and "Wahhabi" have been used synonymously to denote the very same group of Indian Muslims who reestablished the supremacy of the Qu'ran and the Prophetic traditions over the juristic rulings of the Mujtahids that belonged to the different schools of Muslim jurisprudence, though there were some points of diffffference between the Ahl-i-Hadith of India and the early "Wahhabis" of Arabia. The title of a book compiled by S.C. Bose runs in these words, "Two decisions on the right of the Ahl-i-Hadis (Wahabi) to pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis." The author has used the words "Ahl-i-Hadis" and "Wahabi" interchangeably. According to T'P. Hughes, "the Wahhabis of Najd and India call themselves, Ahl-i-Hadis, (sic) or the people of tradition and promote in every way they can the study of those records."[50] Most probably, the word "Wahhabi" is going to be replaced by the word Ahl-i-Hadith. In the afore-said encyclopaedia it has been stated that a mazhab called Ahl-i-Hadith prevails scattered almost all over Bangladesh, Pakistan and India and at present their influence is found in Arabia and Egypt too.[51] Perhaps, the socalled "Wahhabis" of Arabia and Egypt have been classed with the Ahl-i-Hadith.[52]

Though a large majority among the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid were sincere followers of the Hanafite school and only the rejectors of taqlid, a minority among them, came to be known as "Wahhabis", the British Indian Government called the Tariqa-i-Muhammadiyah movement launched by Barelwi as that of "Wahhabi." Hunter writes :

> On our annexation of the Panjab (sic), the fanatic fury, which had formerly spent itself upon the Sikhs, was transferred to their successors,. . .The disorders which we had connived at, or at least, viewed with indifference, upon the Sikh Frontier, now descended as a bitter inheritance to ourseleves.[53]

From this remark of Hunter's it appears that the Mujahidin movement was directed first against the Sikhs of the Punjab, but after the annexation of the Punjab to British India in 1848-1849, it was directed against the English. This change of direction took place after Wilayat Ali, the leader of the Mujahidin, had died in 1852 and his younger brother, Inayat Ali, had taken the command of the Mujahidin.[54] For several years, the new leader had organized the Frontier tribes against the English and led first direct attack upon British India in 1857.[55] Most probably, the British Indian Government applied the word "Wahhabi" to the followers of Barelwi at this phase of the movement.

There is no evidence to show that the British Indian Government applied the word "Wahhabi" to the followers of Barelwi before the annexation of the Punjab to Birtish India. But the novelty of the word had already worn off as a result of long and continuous use by the conservative and superstitious Muslims. They had been using and popularizing the word for more than years before the English used it. On being requested by the Ahl-i-Hadith of India, the British Indian Government officially discontinued the use of the word "Wahhabi" in 1883.[56] But the conservative Muslims kept on using it. According to the Encyclopaedia of Islam, the reformist programme of the Ahl-i-Hadilh "bears a striking resemblance to that of the "Wahhabis" of Arabia, and as a matter of fact their adversaries often nickname them "Wahhabis".[57] The Indian conservatives may have borrowed the word "Wahhabi" from the Arabian conservatives amongst whom the British may have a hand in popularizing this word. But we are yet to know whether Maulawi Fazl-i-Rasul Badayuni and Maulawi Karamat Ali Jawnpuri, who applied the word "Wahhabi" to some followers of Barelwi at an early stage of the reform movement, had been induced by the British Indian Government to do so.

There is no evidence to show that there had been a group called Ahl-i-Hadith among the followers of Sayied Ahmad Barelwi during his life-time. But we are sure that there had been a minority group among the followers of Barelwi who upheld extreme "Wahhabi" views and rejected taqlid.[58] Their opponents termed them "Wahhabis."[59] But they resented the term "Wahhabi" and named themselves Ahl-i-Hadith.[60] So the word "Wahhabi" was captioned and applied in this subcontinent first and foremost not against the Ahl-i-Hadith but against the extreme group among the followers of Barelwi who rejected taqlid. And these so colled "Wahhabis" subsequently named themselves Ahl-i-Hadith. The word "Whhhabi had never been applied to those followers to Barelwi who suppported taqlid.

The Indian Muslims are predominatly of the Hanafi persuation.[61] Some conservative and orthodox Hanafis were very critical of and inimical to the "Wahhabis" of Arabia.[62] There was a striking resemblance between

the Ahl-i-Hadith of India and the "Wahhabis" of Arabia. Some conservative Hanafis popularized the word "Wahhabi" among the Muslim masses in order to check the progress of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement. They resisted the progress of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement in India as the post-Chaitanya Vaisnamas resisted the progress of Islam in Bengal.[63] The resistance of some orthodx Hanafis to the progress of the Ahl-i-Hadith movement in Bengal is traceable in the writings of Maulawi Naimuddin,[64] and in Akhbar-e-Eslamia, a pro-British,[65] pro-Hanafi and anti-Ahl-i-Hadith[66] Bengali journal edited by him and published monthly from Karatia of Tangail. The principal object of this journal was to save the Hanafi mazhab from being swallowed up by the Muhammadi (Ahl-i-Hadith) mazhab.[67] Pracharak, too, was a pro-Hanafi and anti-Ahl-i-Hadith journal edited by Madhu Mian (Mayez uddin Ahmad). One of its purposes was to condemn the Lamazhabis (Ahl-i-Hadith). Maulana Mohammad Maniruzzaman and Maulawi Syed Amanat Ali were its regular contributors whose writings used to have been replete with venomed remarks about the Ahl-i-Hadith.[68] The opposition of Maulawi Naimuddin, Maulana Maniruzzaman and Maulawi Syed Amanat Ali against the Ahl-i-Hadith should not be twisted into the opposition of all Hanafis against it. Some Hanafis supported the Ahl-i-Hadith and they themselves turned Ahl-i-Hadith.[69]

According to Hunter the title of "Wahhabi" of the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Barelwi belongs to a period after 1847.[70] But Maulana Karamat Ali Jawnpuri applied the word "Wahhabi" to some followers of Barelwi in 1838.[71] So it may be said, without fear to contradiction, that Maulana Karamat Ali had applied the word "Wahhabi" to some followers of Barelwi before the British Indian Government applied it to them. So the theory that the adherents of the reform movement launched by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid were dubbed "Wahhabis" by the British Indian Government, seems to be artificial. Most probably, the Muslim writers have formed this theory about the title of the Indian "Wahhabis" in order to conceal the unjust act or their co-religionists and to shift the responsibility for their misdeed on to the shoulders of the English.

Notes and References

1. Sanksipta Islami Biswakos. Vol. 1 (Islamic Foundation Bangaldesh, Dhaka, 1982) p. 278.

2. Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, *Selections from Bengal Government Records on Wahhabi Trials* 1863-1870, (Asiatic Societiy of Pakistan, Dhaka, 1961) p. 3.

3. Abu Mohamed Habibullah, *Samaj Sanskirti O Itihas*, (Bangla Academey Dhaka, 1974), p. 118.

4. Abdul Maudud, *Ohabi Andolan*, (Bengali translation of three articles in English written by one anonymous author and published in The calcutta Review No. C, 1870 No. CI, 1871 & No CII 1871 (Ahmad Publishing House, Dhaka, 1969), appendix, p. 145,

5. Mohammad Azraf, *Islami Andolan Yuge Yuge,* (Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, 1980) p. 53.

6. Abul Kasem Bhuyan, *Upamahadese Muslim Punarjagran,* (Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, 1980), p. 34.

7. Mas-ud-Alam Nadwi, *Shayakh Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab* (trans), Pahlowan Press, Uttar Shahjahanpur, Dhaka-17, 1983, pp. 185-186.

8. *Ibid.,* p. 183.

9. Zia-Ul-Hasan Faruqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan,* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1963) p. 135.

10. Rahman Ali, *Tazkriah-i-Ulama-i-Hind,* 2nd Edition, Lucknow, 1914, P.P. 163-64, Vide Mahmud Hussain Ph. D. "The Successors of Sayid Ahmed Shahid : Trials and Persecution" in *A History of the Freedom movement,* Vol. II, Part II (Pakistan Historical Society Karachi, 1961), p. 386.

11. Taqlid refers to blind following of a Mujtahid's opinions in matters of religion and law without investigating his reasons. Person adhered to taqlid is a Muqallid, a a blind follower. A Mujtahid is a person qualified to form independent opinions in Muslim jurisprudence. Justice Abdul Maudud has defined the terms taqlid and Muqallid in a strange way. His definitions of the terms are quite different from those of the Muslim theologians of the past and the present. For his definitions of the terms see Maudud, op, cit, footnote No. 4, p.9.

12. Mahmud Husain, op. cit., p.387.

13. Muhammad Abdul Bari D. Phil., "Unabinsa Satabdir Pak-Bharate Muslim Sanskar Andolan" (trns) *Tarjumanul Hadith* No. XII, 1967, (Al-Hadith Printing and Publishing House, 86, Qazi Alauddin Road, Dhaka) p. 603.

14. Azizur Rahman Mallick Ph.D., *British Policy and the Muslims of Bengal* (Bangla Academy Dhaka, 1977), p. 132 ; Maudud, op. cit., p. 61.

15. Maudud, op. cit., p. 61.

Maulawi Abdul Hai of Delhi (d.1828) was the son-in-law and Maulawi Muhammad Ismail of Delhi (1778-1831 A.D.) was the nephew of Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, "The Sun of India". Maulawi abdul Hai was, undoubtedly, a Sunni Hanafi but Maulawi Karamat Ali of Jawnpur (d. 1873 A.D.) was not a real Sunni. He was a Hanafi in practical Fiqh but a shi'i in dogma. Vide infra note No. 40.

16. Faruqi, op, cit., p. 127.

17. Ibid., p. 18.

18. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, *Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans,* Beneras, 1872, p. 14 ; quoted in Bari, op, cit., *Tarjumanul Hadith* No. IV, 1966,note No. 21, p. 186.

19. Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, XIII, 315 ; quoted in Bari, op cit, *Tarjumanul Hadith no. V,* 1966, p. 222.

20. Syed Abdul Mannan, *Balakoter Shahid Shah Muhammad Ismail,* (Society for Pakistan Studies, Dhaka, March, 1970) p. 28.

21. S. Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Muslims in India* (trans) (Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, Lucknow, 1980) pp. 45-46.

22. Habibullah, op, cit., p. 131.

23. Mallick, op, cit., p. 132 ; Maudud, op. cit., p. 61.

24. Bari, op, cit., *Tarjumanul Hadith,* No. XVII, 1967, p. 603.

25. Maudud, op, cit., appendix, p. 146. Mazhab refers to school of Muslim Jurisprudence.

26. Raising of hands to one's ear before going to ruku and after rising from it in course of prayer. It is a practice of the Shafis, the Hanbalis and the Ahl-i-Hadith.

27. Maudud, op, cit., pp. 13, 18.

28. W.W. Hunter, *The Indian Musalmans,* Barnalipi Mudrayan, 17, K. G. Gupta Lane, Dhaka-1, June 1975, pp. 42, 55. Maudud, op, cit., pp. 13. 20-21. *Sirat-ul-Mustakim* was written in Persian by Maulawi Ismail in 1233 A.H./1818 A.D. and it was translated into Hindustani by Maulawi Abdul Jabbar of Cawnpur.

29. Mallick op, cit., p. 127.

30. Quoted from *Sirat-ul-Mustakim,* (p. 78) in Rai Bahadur S.C. Bose, *Two decisions on the right of the Ahl-i-Hadis (Wahabi) to pray in the same mosque with the Sunnis,* (p.7); requoted in Shamsul Huq ; "Hadith Anusaran-o-mazhab", *Tarjumanul Hadith No. VI,* 1966 p. 299, Maulawi Wilayat Ali (d. 1852), a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid expressed almost similar view on taqlid. There came about a compromise between Wilayat Ali and other Muslims of Patna. "Wilayat Ali admitted" writes Dr. Mallick, "that though he was the follower of the school of Imam Abu Hanifa, he could accept any Hadith (tradition) and remain a Hanafite all the same, as Abu Hanifa had admitted that all Hadiths might not have been known to him". (Mallick, op, cit., p. 142 ; from S.R.B.G. XLII Trial of Ahmedoollah, p. 173-4.). Though Wilayat Ali claimed himself to be a Hanafi, he introduced the practices of Amin bil Jihr, calling aloud the word Amin at the end of Sura Al-Fatiha and rafa-yadain, in course of prayer in Bengal. Maudud, op, cit., appendix, p.140.

31. Shah Waliullah quotes in his work, Iqduljid fi Ahqamil Ijtihad wat taqlid, the words of Imam Azizuddin bin Abdul Salam on the origin and nature of taqlid which read : "men (in olden days) always asked any learned man they met to solve their doubts without any restrictions of sect. But then there arose those sects, and their followers became bigots, who began to follow blindly their own Imam, though the religion of that Imam may be far from reason, as if that Imam was a prophet sent to him. This, however, is departing from truth and going far from virtue. No man of intelligence would be pleased with this (blind following of a particular Imam)", quoted in S.C.Bose, op, cit., pp. 31-37 ; requoted in Shamsul Huq, op, cit., *Tarjumanul Hadith* No. VI, 1966, p. 298.

32. A Muqallid blindly follows the opinion of his Imam though it contradicts prophetic traditions. This was the practice among the Indian Muslims also. According to Dr. Ishaq, during the later Delhi Sultanate (1300-1494) the Indian, "Ulama en masse, were affiliated to the Hanafite School. Their interst centered round Fiqh... Having no wide outlook and independent judgment, they viewed the Sharia in terms of the Hanafite Fiqh. Any deviation from a recognized rule of this school, even sanctioned by traditions, was, therefore, opposed tooth and nail... Fiqhi riwayat or the decision of the Hanafite jurists had greater legal value than Traditions themselves". (Muhammad Ishaq Ph.D., *India's Contribution to the Study of Hadith Literature,* (University of Dacca, 1976) pp. 55-56.

33. In the early eighteenth century Waliullah brought back from his studies in the Muslim holy cities of the Hijaz "not merely a renewed emphasis on the conservative study of hadis (sic), but the principle of its right of primacy over the rulings of juristic schools" (Aziz Ahmad, *Islamic Modernism in Irdia and Pakistan,* Oxford University Press, London, 1967, p. 114). According to Waliullah "hadis (sic) supersedes jurisprudence where a judicial ruling is demonstrably contrary to it" (Ibid., p.70), Addressing the contemporary Ulama, Waliullah says in his work, Tafhimat-i-Ilahia, that when any Hadith of the Prophet reaches them, they do not act upon it. They say that they act upon so-and-so mazhab, not upon Hadith. They make an excuse for their conduct that, to understand Hadith and too decide on the basis of it is an act of the specialists and the

men of thorough knowledge. Moreover, they argue that, the Hadith in question was not unknown to the former Imams. There must be some reason behind their rejecting the Hadith. Waliullah adds that it is not at all the path of religion. If they have faith in the Prophet, they should follow him, whether this act of following goes in favour of or against any mazhab, (Quoted in Sayed Abul Ala Moudoodi, *Islami Renesma Andolan,* (trans ; Adhunik Prakasani 25, Sirisdas Lane Dhaka, 1980) p. 70. Waliulah's fundamentalism "heralded the first thaw which melted to some extent, the frozen and rigid mass of traditionalist orthodoxy in Indian Islam" (Aziz Ahmad, op, cit., p. 2). He had not shouldered the yoke of a particular mazhab. His fundamentalism "mitigated the influence of the watertight compartmentalization of Muslim jurisprudence by permitting" the follower of a particular mazhab to follow other mazhabs in various matters of belief and conduct. (Ibid., pp. 40, 70). For his fundmentalist views, it seems, Waliullah had been classed with the Ahl-i-Hadith. Rai Bahadur S.C.Bose writes, "A perusal of the whole of Eqdul-jid, as well as other productions of this author as Insaf, Hiyat, Huzzatul-lahil Baliga will have not the slightest doubt on any impartial mind that he is an Ahl-i-Hadis (sic) out and out". Bose, op, cit., p. 42 ; quoted in Shamsul Huq, op, cit., *Tarjumanul Hadith* No, VI, 1966, p. 299.

34. Bose ; op, cit., p.7 ; in Shamsul Huq, op, cit., *Tarjumaul Hadith* No. VI, 1966, p. 300.

35. Mallick, op, cit., pp. 141-42.

36. Hunter, op, cit., foot note No. 3 p. 13.

37. Mallick, op, cit., p. 153.

38. Sheikh Ainul Bari, 'Biswer Atulaniya Pratibha Imam Ibne Taymiah", *The Azad,* Rabibarer Sahitya Majlis, 28th Asadh 1376 B. S. p. 11.

39. Ibid., 4th Sraban 1376, B.S. P.9.

40. Aziz Ahmad, op, cit., p. 86. Though a Shi'i, Karamat Ali was a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi, "The Sun of India" (Ibid., p. 21). His shi'ite principle has been stated in his work, *Ma'a Khiz al-Ulum,* written in 1865. In the said work he "develops the thesis that the Divine Creator is the original source of all knowledge which He caused to be revealed to His creatures through His Prophets, especially Muhammad and his descendants, the Imams (infallible guides, according to Shi'ite creed)" Ibid, P.22. Maulana Abdul Hai of Lucknow, says in his work, *Ar raf-u-wat taqmilu* that many Hanafis are Hanafite in branches of Fiqh only but they are either Shi'ite or Mutajilite or Murji'ite in principle, (Abu Taher Bardwani, *Kat Huzzatir Jawab,* (The Bengal press, Rani Bazar, Rajshahi 1388 B.S.PP. 7-98). The Hanafite school being the most liberal one, Shi'ite, Murjite and Mutajili'ite elements have easily been absorbed by it. Real Hanafis are those who are Hanafite in both usul and furu (principle and branches of Fiqh). Karamat Ali was Hanafite in branches of Fiqh but Shi'ite in principle. Though an orthodox Shi'i, Karamat Ali was a pir (spiritual guide) of the Sunni Hanafis of Bengal. In *The Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam in Bengali* (Vol.I p. 321) it has been stated that the authentic Sunni works of the Hanafite school were the basis of Karamat Ali's principle. But this view is inconsistent with Karamat Ali's Shi'ite principle stated in *Ma'a khiz al- Ulum.*

41. Maudud, op, cit., pp. 88-89.

42. Muin-ud-Din Ahmad Khan, *Titu Mir and his followers in British Indian Records* (1831-1833) Islamic Foundation, Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1980. pp. 8-10.

43. Ibid., p. 11.

42. Mallick, op, cit., pp. 89-90 ; Maudud, op, cit., p. 49.

45. M.A.Khan, Titu Mir, pp. 10-12.

46. Muhammad S.A. Ibrahimy, "Titu Mir's Reform Movement" *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh* (*Humanities*) Vol. XXVII, No 1, June, 1982, p. 20. Mr. Ibrahimy has referred this information to an article entitled, 'The Wahhabis in India', No. II (Calcutta Review, Vol.II, No. CI, pp. 177-78). Justice Abdul Maudud has translated the article into Bengali in which this information is lacking. See Maudud, op, cit., pp. 48-73.

47. Sanksipta Islami Biswakos, Vol. I, PP. 93-94.

48. Vide supra the citation numbered 30.

49. Sanksipta Islami Biswakos Vol. II, (Islamic Foundation, Bangladesh 1982), p. 94.

50. Thomas Patrick Hugues, *Dictionary* of Islam, (Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1978), p. 661.

51. Sanksipta Islami Biswakos Vol. II, p. 94.

52. There was a major difference between the Ahl-i-Hadith of India and the early "Wahhabis" of Arabia. The early "Wahhabis" were neo-Hanbalites, the followers of the Hanabali mazhab as interpreted by Imam Ibne Taymiah. But the Ahl-i-Hadith of India have rejected or minimized the authority of the four Mazhabs and they have recourse to the Qur'an and the Hadith or guidance. Later "Wahhabis " (after the establishment of the modern Kindom of Saudi Arabia) like the Ahl-i-Hadith do not follow any individual authority in matters of religion except the Qur'an and the Hadith. Therefore, the later "wahhabis" may rightly be called the Ahl-i-Hadith.

53. Hunter, op. cit., p. 13.

54. Maudud, op cit., pp. 77-78, 93.

55. Hunter, op, cit., p. 15.

56. Letter No. 1758, dated 3rd December, 1886, from the officiating Secretary to the Government of India (Home Department) to the Secretary of the Punjab, referred to in *Maathir-i-Siddiqi*, Vol. III, p. 163, Vide Mahmud Husain, op, cit., p. 387.

57. H.A.R. Gibb et, al, eds, The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. 1, (Leiden, E.J. Brill, London, Luzac and Company) 1960, p. 259.

58. Mahmud Hussin, op, cit. P. 387, Maudud, op, cit., P. 61.

59. Sanksipta Islami Biswakos vol. I, p. 94.

60. Loc cit ; Mahmud Hussain, op. cit., p. 337.

61. It is curious enough to note that the early Muslim settlers in India were predominantly "Ashab Hadith, adherents of Aposiolic traditions, who were the followers of Imam Dawud al Isbahani (d. 270), the Zahirite (literalist)" The Hanafis were a minority among the early Muslims of India. This fact has been revealed by Al-Maqdisi, a famous Syrian Geographer, who had visited al-Mansura, the Metropolis of Sind in 375 A.H/985 A.D. in his work, *Ahsan Al-Taqasim fi Ma'rifat al- Aqalim* (vide M. Ishaq op. cit., p. 37). The Hanafis have become predominant among the Indian Muslims during the Turkish rule in India. The Turkish rulers were Hanafis who had adopted Hanafi laws in their legal system. This led to the increase of the Hanafis among the Indian Muslims.

62. Maulana Muhammad Ali, a renowned leader of the Khilafat movement in India, was dubbed as a "Wahhabi" for his support of Sultan Ibne Saud of Najd, a "Wahhabi," by some Hanafi Ulma of India (Vide M.Ali Asgar Khan "The Assumption of Caliphal office by Sharif Hussain—Its Reaction in India" *Journal of the Asiatic Socieity of Bangladesh*, VOl XXII, No. 3, 1977, p. 230). Sariyat, a pro-Hanafi, pro-British and anti-"Wahhabi" Bengali Journal "described Ibne Saud as Wahhabi Sardar and as the tyrannical arch enemy of the sunnat Jamayet". Vide Mustafa Nurul Islam, Ph. D., *Bengali Muslim Public Opinion as Reflected in the Bengali Press* (1901-1930), Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1973, p.30.

63. For the resistance of the Vaisnavas to the progress of Islam in Bengal see M.R. Tarafdar, *Hussain Shahi Bengal,* (Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Dhaka November, 1965), p 231 ; also Muhammad Enamul Huq, *A Hstory of Sufi-ism in Bengal,* (Asiatic Society of Bengladesh, Dhaka 1975), pp. 255-68.

64. Abdul Qader, *Maulana Mohammad Naimuddin,* (Islamic Foundation, Dhaka, 1979) pp. 21-27, 30.

65. Dr. Anisuzzaman, *Muslim Banglar Smayikpatra,* (Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1969), Introduction, p. 44.

66. N. Islam op, cit., p. 284.

67. Dr. Kazi Abdul Mannan *Adhunik Bangla Sahitya Muslim Sadhana,* (Student ways, 9, Bangla Bazar, Dhaka, 1969), p. 216, The Ahl-i-Hadith mazhab, in fact, swallowed the Hanafi Mazhab in some parts of Bengal. In an editiorial of *Sariyat* (No, IV, 1332 B.S.), a pro-Hanafi and anit-Ahl-i-Hadith journal edited by Ahmad Ali Enayetpuri and Published from Calcutta as "the sole mouthpiece of the Bengal Hanafi sect" it has been stated, "there were many such villages where thirty or forty years back, no one knew even the name of the Muhammadi sect and now there is not a single Hanafi there", Mustafa Nurul Islam Ph.D. *Samayikpatre Jiban O Janamat,* (Bangla Academy, Dhaka, 1977, p. 111).

68. Mannan, op, cit., pp. 328-332.

69. Vide supra note No. 67.

70. Hunter, op. cit., p. 13.

71. Maudud, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

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Book Review

Shamsul Huda Harun : *Parliamentary Behaviour in a Multi-National State,* 1947-1958 : *Bangladesh Experience.* pp. 300, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka 1984, TK. 150.00 $ 12.50

A. R. MALLICK*

The book "*Parliamentary Behaviour in a Multi-National State,* 1947-58 : *Bangladesh Experience*" deserves a serious attention of scholars engaged in the study of the parliamentary system of government and the behavioural pattern of the members of the Parliament particularly of South Asian Countries which had secured their independence from western domination during the last few decades. It is a well-planned, logically integrated and an efficiently executed piece of work based partially on a Ph.D. thesis which the author had worked out in the University of Durham, U.K. through a sustained program me of research, a few years ago.

Dr. Harun's work dealing with Pakistan (1947-58) including the space covered by Preface, Introduction, Bibliography and the Appendix consists of 300 pages. It has two parts with a total of 16 chapters of moderate lengths. The sources used are mostly primary and original and hence dependable ; the few published works he has choosen to consult are of standard and recognised quality. Thus fortified, the views and comments expressed by the author in his analysis of events and circumstances and on their resultant developments provides us with enough evidence of his wisdom, intelligence and a rare academic insight. Dr. Harun's presentation is coherent and clear and he writes with strong impirical relevance, objectivity, clarity and precision with an appreciable command of the language.

Pakistan as a sovereign state emerged in 1947 under a leadership that had emotional attachment to Parliamentary form of Government but with little or no experience of operating a government under that model. With two wings of the newly born State, having a widely different socio-economic and political background, separated by over one thousand miles of foreign territory, Pakistan launched her career with a long and complex catalogue of regional, ethnical, cultural and socio-economic problems. The leaders of the Muslim League with the support of their followers, had claimed and obtained a homeland for the majority of the Muslim in the Sub-Continent but the task of moulding the heterogenous groups, within the new state, into a viable nation,

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of giving them an effective interim Government (under the slightly modified Government of India Act, 1935) and then, an acceptable and workable constitution, posed a challenge to the unprepared leadership. Along with meeting the day to day requirement of a new State and Government, the leadership struggled hard and eventually did succeed in adopting a Constitution in 1956 with necessary safeguards for regional, cultural and other interests of regions and groups, within the framework of a Federal Parliamentary system of Government. Before the system of Government, conceived under the proposed constitution, could be given a trial, the Army intervened and set everything at naught by placing the country and its people under Martial Law. It is against this background story and the behavioural pattern of the Parliamentarians of the Constituent Assembly/Parliament, emerging in the process of forming and running a Government on the model of Parliamentary form of democracy (as obtains in England), as well as the working of the Pakistan Parliament that forms the core of Dr. Harun's book.

We have some published works on this and allied fields by Scholars like Khalid-Bin-Sayeed, Keith Callard, G.W. Chowdhury besides a few publications of lesser importance. Some of these are fairly good studies but are not always exhaustive ; nor are their contentions always unchallengable. Moreover, each one of these studies is limited in scope and objective. Dr. Harun appears to be conscious of these limitations of his predecessors and had planned and executed his work accordingly. He has gone for more in-depth study and more relevant and hitherto unexplored original material. The secret letters used in the book provides us with a quality of freshness, novelty and wealth of insights, which at once, clears some cobwebs and allows one to see the heart of the matter. He has given an appraisal of the Parliamentary record, its achievements and limitations within the context of a general analysis of politics. His efforts, I must say, have turned out to be immensely rewarding indeed.

The work has been executed in two parts for comprehension and clarity. The six chapters, under Part-I (pp 1-161), are well-written ; these are fairly detailed and intelligently presented. Of particular interest are chapters -IV (PP 48-93), VI (PP 122-147) and VII (PP 148-161) where both the narrative and the comments on specifics and general, are quite relevant, pointed and convincing, based as these are on solid evidences drawn from mainly primary sources.

Part-II opens with an *interregnum* under chapter-VIII. This acts as a bridge as between Part-I and II but the brief analysis of events and circumstances of the period draws out immediate attention. This is particularly true in respect of author's comments on Suhrawardy's objectives and his eventual participation in Government (PP 167-68, pp 176-77) and the commendable

role of the judiciary, the height of dignity and responsiveness to public interests that the courts at the Centre and Provinces demonstrated, through their judgements on national issue (PP 169-76) in critical times. The chapters forming the core of part-II are all illuminating. The issues discussed here are important and the technique of presentation makes the whole narrative a pleasant reading and academically rewarding. Chapter-XIV (PP 265-89) and XV (PP 280-310) are excellent. Finally, the concluding remarks bring up to the surface, in a summarised form, both the dynamic role of the Parliamentarians and the positive contributions of the Parliament itself to the process of nation-building in Pakistan in its initial years. The base and tradition for operation of the Westminster type of Parliamentary Democracy in the country were prepared by the Parliament and its members but the process set into motion was abruptly halted without allowing fair trial by the promulgation of Martial Law in 1958. I am sure the author has made major contribution to the legislative study of the South Asian Countries. This book deserves to be read by anyone interested in really understanding the Bangladesh Political Process since it is well linked up with the past.

The Bibliography is helpful. The copies of personal letters, appearing under Appendix, are informative and interesting.

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Book Review

Mohammad Asghar Khan : *Generals in Politics—Pakistan* 1958-1982, University Press Limited, Dhaka 1983, pp. vi+230, Tk. 160.00

AZIZUL HAQUE*

There have been a number of books, mostly autobiographical in nature, written by professional military personnel in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh. These books have not only enriched our literature on politics, they also in a representative nature, reveal in-depth the attitude of the military personnel to politics and politicians, the demands and expectations they have on /of the state system, and how they would like the national problems to be tackled. To mention a few of these books are :—

(a) Ayub Khan, Friends Not Masters, A Political Autobiography.
(b) Maj-Gen. Fazal Muqeem Khan, The Story of Pakistan Army.
(c) Col. Ahmed Mohammad, My Chief.
(d) General Musa, Soldier to General.
(e) Siddiq Salek, Witness to Surrender.
(f) Lt. Gen. B.M. Kaul, The Untold Story.
(g) Maj. Rafiq-ul-Islam, A Tale of Millions.
(h) Maj. Rafiqul Islam, Ekti Fulkey Bachabo Baley (Bengali).
(i) Maj-Gen. D.K. Palit, Lightning Campaign.
(j) Maj-Gen. L. Singh, Victory in Bangladesh.
(k) Vice-Admiral N. Krishnan, No Way but Surrender.

The emergence of Pakistan was the product of a growing awareness of Muslim separateness, gestated by socio-cultural-economic factors, in India. The people opted for partition of India (i.e., for Pakistan) with the hope that in their new 'homeland' they would be the masters to order their lives, to decide their fate. However, within a short time they were disillusioned—to their surprise they found that they had exchanged the colonial yoke for a national autocratic rule. With death of Jinnah (1948) and Liaquat (1951), Pakistan fell into deep political and economic crises, and effective political power slipped into the hands of the army-bureaucracy-businessmen combine, the latter two acting as the supporting hands to the former. The meddling of Pakistan's army in politics, beginning in 1953, reached its climax in 1958

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when it, through a coup, took over directly the reins of administration of the country. Since then Pakistan has been under military rule, overt or covert, for more than half its existence, and except for an interim period of Bhutto's 5½-year rule (between 1972-1977) Pakistan has been ruled by generals. The result has been disastrous for Pakistan —(a) 'strangulation' of democratic institutions ; (b) plunging the country into major wars with India ; (c) the defective West Pakistan-Centric policy widening the gap between the two wings of pre-1971 Pakistan, (d) a costly civil war leading to the dismemberment of Pakistan and the humiliation of her armed forces ; (e) spreading and strengthening, counteractive to repressive policy of army rule, the centrifugal forces, particularly the separatist tendencies in Baluchistan, N.W.F.P. and Sind, in residual Pakistan. People now ask, "Can Pakistan survive" ?

Although blood was shed, during its gestation, through inter-communal violences, and although the partition of united India was itself, in a sense, a revolutionary step, Pakistan was finally achieved through negotiations and compromise. It was the result of constitutional politics and struggle—not a result of a 'military campaign' or a planned armed struggle. Pakistan's army was born out of a portion of the British Indian army trained to defend and uphold the colonial rule. The army was stained to obey the orders of the established government, to keep aloof from politics. As such the army, which finally fell into Pakistan's share, had little part in the Pakistan movement. How could, then, the army come to the forefront and meddle in or dictate politics in Pakistan ?

1. The communal carnage & massive refugee exchange struck directly at the heartland of the Pakistan army, i.e., the Punjab. Repugnant to old military traditions of non-involvement in political issues, the communal violence politicised the army. The embitterness of a significant part of the military on the moderate policy of the Government, revealed through the Rawalpindi conspiracy case, on Kashmir and the use of the army in putting down anti-Ahmadiyya riots in Lahore in 1953 (involving religio-political issues) induced the army to think politically. And as in 1954 Ayub became the Defence Minister, the army became politicised further.

2. Again, the acceptance, of partition of India with 'reservation' by the Congress and the tragic events through which Pakistan finally emerged made her suffer, since her very inception, from 'India phobia'. Pakistan's smaller share of the pre-partion Indian army, her rudimentary resources and sketchy organisation of the new state vis-a-vis India's big size and manpower magnified India's military power. Moreover, the way India tried to resolve her disputes with Pakistan could not inspire Pakistan's confidence in India. The withholding (by India) of delivery of Pakistan's share of cash balances and military stores (of British India) the simmering tension and conflict between India and Pakistan on Kashmir, concentrations of Indian troops on Pakistan's

borders (in March 1950 and July 1951), stoppage of canal waters (1952-53) reinforced Pakistan's fear of a possible attack from India. Moreover, the abortive communist-inspired Rawalpindi conspiracy (March 1951), acute political turmoil and economic crisis, increasing communist 'subversive' activities, particularly in East Pakistan, seriously perturbed Pakistan's ruling elites about its economic viability and its very survival. They thought that the communists and other anti-Pakistani elements were all out to exploit the crises for disruption. As the country slid towards greater political turmoil, the ruling circle, influenced by Ayub and Iskander Mirza, became convinced that Pakistan's survival was vitally linked with the establishment of a "well-trained, well-equipped army", both as a deterrent against India and as the only 'stabilizing factor' within the country. This attitude induced Pakistan to have a 'protective friendship' with the west in formal military pacts (since 1954) not only as a deterrent against India but also as a better means of procuring sufficient military and economic aid from the west. Since then as huge military aid flowed into Pakistan, her army grew not only in size, image and fire-power, but also in infiltrating and engulfing, helped by weakening political leadership, the political process itself.

The strength of Asghar Khan's book lies in the fact that it is based in his personal witness (as C-in-C of PAF and President of PIA) to the army's rapid take-over and consolidation of power from 1958 to 1982. The author's account is laden with startling disclosures about the "ruthless weeding' out of those officers refusing to fall in line with the ruling generals ; of the Punjabi elite's perception of East Pakistan as a 'burden' (page 4) ; of the generals' impatience with political awareness of the Bengalis ; of their Machiavellian tactics of betraying Sk. Mujib. He also points out vividly the dangers inherent in a situation that allows the military to infiltrate a political process and the 'nemesis' that follows when a body politics is thus 'vitiated'.

Asghar Khan's book, which appears to be more an autobiographical account of his own role and involvement in Pakistan's politics during the period under review, consists of 9 chapters. The chapters may come under four broad themes. In the first two chapters, the author spells out the events and situations in which the army entered politics, and the 'mad' policy of generals, with Bhutto's blessing and inspiration (p. 60, 62, p. 116), which ultimately led to the birth of Bangladesh. In the chapters III-VI the author deals with Bhutto's politics in residual Pakistan—his over-ambition and love of power, his repressive policy to gag opposition (pp. 51, 75-95), his alleged rigging of Pakistan's second general elections and its consequence which ultimately brought the army into power again (pp.106-130). Then in the next two chapters the author deals in depth with Bhutto's arrest and hanging, Ziaul Huq's interference with the judiciary (pp. 132, 141-146), his

breach of promise to hold elections (pp. 133, 156-158), his 'Islamic Order' and the opposition's reaction to it (pp. 160-170).

Why did Ziaul Huq hang Bhutto ? Was it not an act of 'treachery' on the part of Ziaul Huq, who had been appointed as the C-in-C (in March 1976) by Bhutto, superseding a number of officers senior to him ? The coup was staged on 5 july 1977 ; and when Ziaul Huq met Bhutto on 15 July, Bhutto chastised him for the action he had taken and had reminded him of the 'death penalty' under the constitution for anyone toppling a government by force, and subsequently on a number of occasions he spoke of 'revenge' (pp. 130, 143). Moreover, Bhutto's show of strength at Lahore on 8 August 'unnerved' (and haunted !) Ziaul Huq and he felt that the PPP might well sweep the proposed October 1977 election ; and so "he did not relish the idea of handing over the government again to Bhutto", an arrogant man. Even if Bhutto had assured him of forgiveness for the coup, "he could not risk the possibility of such a thing happening and, therefore decided not to take any chances". (p. 143). In the final chapter the author summarises the dismal consequences of military rule and action, costing the loss of half the country and strengthening separatist forces in Baluchistan and the N.W.F.P., and advises reduction of military expenditure thereby releasing more sums for health, education, housing and other sectors of public utility (p. 186). Army rule in the third world countries is usually justified by generals as necessary for wiping out corruption and improving the law and order situation. However, from Pakistan's experience, the author justifiably concludes that army rule rather worsens the situation than improving it (p.220). Finally the author has a great warning for the Pakistanis when he says ; "If the present situation is allowed to continue much longer, history will I fear record that Pakistan perished in its infancy, because the people refused to learn from their mistakes and allowed misguided and power hungry Generals to lead them to doom and destruction". (p. 226).

However, a few words need to be said on the role the author himself played during the period (1958-82) the book covers. As C-in-C of the PAF and President of PIA the author was an important part of the ruling military elites for about a decade.And as such he has to shoulder some responsibility for the blunders and misdeeds the military elites have committed. In addition, there have been serious contradictions in his approaches and politics. In 1971 he was trying hard to sober the military junta (pp. 36-41) ; however, he decided that his party would participate in the proposed bye-elections in East Pakistan (thereby, in a way, endorsing and promoting the policy of Yahya). On the one hand he is all-out against army rule (p. 172) and he blames Ayub, Yahya and other Generals for subverting the political process ; on the other hand, he addresses the Chiefs of Staff and the officers of the defence services of Pakistan (May 1977) to disobey the

'unlawful' commands of an established government, i.e., of Bhutto (pp. 116-118). In the eye of law this sort of incitement for armed forces is a 'treasonable' act.

As a whole, the book is a valuable one for both general readers and reasearch scholars as it furnishes them many inside stories of the military elites in Pakistan. Hence the author deserves our thanks for presenting us such a valuable book.

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Book Review

Barkat-e-Khuda : *The Use of Time and Underemployment in Rural Bangladesh,* University of Dhaka, 1982, pp. 205, Price Taka 75.00.

EMAJUDDIN AHMED*

Widespread unemployment and underemployment in rural Bangladesh, so ovious even to a casual observer, have not yet been properly assessed and hence on reliable data have been prepared, though these are absolutely necessary for policy-making to be relevant to this crucial problem in a labour surplus ceonomy like ours. Such conventional methods as the census approach or the usual type of snapshot labour utilization surveys, based mainly on the concept of looking for work, are quite inadequate to answer the problems of developing countries although these methods have been found appropriate in the developed societies. Naturally, the figures obtained from such conventional approaches seem to be too law in our country and thus have been irrelevant for planning purposes and policy-making.

In his pioneering work, *The Use of Time and Underemployment in Rural Bangladesh,* Barkat-e-Khuda has identified the inadequacies of the conventional approaches to measurement of labour force and its utilization, and finally recommended the collection of time budget data through daily observation over a period of time to make a realistic estimate of the nature and pattern of labour utilization in rural Bangladesh. From this point of view, Dr. Barkat-e-Khuda's work is a path-breaking one and he has provided fresh and valuable insights into the importance of labour in general and into that of child labour and women's labour in particular, both in its general and seasonal dimensions. Here is an opportunity for me to congratualabe the author for his painstaking attempt in the right direction.

Agricultural activities constitute the major preoccupation of the people in rural Bangladesh, but these activities are largely affected by seasonality mainly because of the fact that agriculture depends more on natural condition. A real picture of the seasonal component of underemployment in rural Bangladesh is yet to be available both to the academics, planners and administrators. Moreover, a few attempts, which have been undertaken to measure underemployment in rural Bangladesh, have only examined the male husbandmen and the time they spend of husbandry only, ignoring the role of women and children in such activities and other income generating activities

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and the time thus spent. As a result, these studies have provided only a partial picuture of the employment situation in the society. This study, unlike others, has examined how men, women and children make use of their time divided among directly productive activities, household affairs of other non-work uses of time. To that extent, the analyses brought home in this work is realistic and these can be effectively utilized in any planning process.

In his analyses, he has not only brought in an air of realism in the estimate of unemployment and underemployment in rural Bangladesh but has also pointed out the need for redefinition of the concept of work in a society like ours. Work, to him, does not consist only in carrying out income generating activities ; household maintenance activities should also be included within the fold of work, and from that point of view the women, who are in charge of household maintenance works, are to be credited with effectively productive works in the society. Any down-to-earth and realistic work on employment and unemployment should take cognizance of this aspect.

A good researcher as the author is, living in the sample village and observing and learning about the ways of life of the villagers, he is not theorizing from a safe and secluded cloister about the mundane village problems and has not appropriated the role of a Preacher. He is conscious of the cost his recommended method involves and that is why he is reluctant to recommend it even on a national level work. In his own words :

> "It may be said that although time-budget data provide better information on the use of time and labour utilization, it is costly and time-consumiig and hence, connot be recommended on a natonal level. Such studies should, however, be carried out at least in some areas of the country to highlight some of the important aspects of the use of time by men, women and children." (p. 169).

The work, the author himself said, is a revised version of his ph.D. dissertation submitted to the Australian National University, Canberra in 1978, and it has been published by the University of Dhaka in 1982. The get-up of the book is good, though proof-reading has been casual, printing, dull and the overall setting has been very commonplace. The work however deserves wider readership. The academics, administrations, planners and the labour force research experts will surely find it quite refreshing and instructive.

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Book Review

Kamrunnesa Islam : *Aspects of Economic History of Bengal* C. 400-1200 *A.D.*, Asiatic Society of Bangladesh, Dhaka, 1984, pp 210, Taka 125.00, U.S. $ 12.00.

K. M. MOHSIN*

Dr. Kamrunnesa Islam's book---*Aspects of Economic History of Bengal* has grown out of a Ph.D. dissertation which she had successfully completed quite a few years back under the able guidance of Prof. A.L. Basham and Dr. Casparis at the school of Oriental African Studies, University of London. It must be admitted that the number of literature on ancient history of Bengal published in Bangladesh is very few. Preciously speaking, we have only two titles published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal on *Dynastic History of Bengal, Everyday life in Pala Empire* written respectively by Prof. A.H. Chowdhury and Prof. Shahanara Husain. We also know of an attempt made by one of our former students to do some works on ancient Bengal leading to Ph.D. degree of the University of Dhaka, which for some reasons, not known to me, had not been completed. Dearth of adequate source material and language difficulties are, I believe, great hindrances for undertaking studies on pre-Muslim Bengal and these are more true in respect of economi'c history of the period covered by Dr. K. Islam. Prof. Abdullah Faruque's references to economic aspects of ancient Bengal are limited to the mention of some agrcultural products and implements, manufactures and trade links only.

Dr. Islam for that matter has "tried to meet a need felt by" herself "and others as students and teachers for a systematic study of the economic history of ancient Bengal." How far that need has been fulfilled will be examined by the experts in the field. Two very competent experts on ancient history of South Asia reviewed the original manuscript and recommended its publication by the Asiatic Society. One of them suggested elimination of certain portion which he thought had no relevance now. (Elimination, to my consideration, is no doubt a process to bring a manuscript to some kind of perfection).

Dr. Islam's book contains six chapters, an introduction, a few plates and a bibliography and is based on archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic, literary sources, foreign accounts and secondary works. The introduction gives an account of these original sources for this study. The first chapter deals with geographical aspects, namely physical features, the rivers, climate, rainfall, soils, settlements and land utilisation. The second chapter reviews the state

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of agriculture and stock breeding including irrigation, agricultural products, implements and use of pasture land and domestic and wild animal, birds and fishes. The authoress has devoted only a small paragraph on fish and nothing on fishermen and their activities. The mention of jute among agricultural products has some relevance but the existence of lions in ancient Bengal raises doubts. The third chapter—the largest one covering more than one fourth of the book (pp. 44-109) examines the various aspects of land system, its sale, grants, surveys, settlements of disputes, price and ownership. This is particularly a well-argued chapter and the authoress has been able to prove with documentary evidence that the "King was the ultimate owner of all the land" (P-109) though the local people were informed during sale or transfer of lands (quote from p. 108). She has also told us that more and more reliance on agriculture had begun long before than many people think it had.

Manufactures, trade and commerce have been discussed in the fourth and fifth chapters. Coastal trade, trade relations with Sirlanka, Maldives, Java and Sumatra, means of transport have been examined and among the crafts and industries textiles, sugar, salt, pottery, metal works of various description, jewellery, stone works and ivory carving have been mentioned. There is no doubt that ivory was available in Bengal but according to some evidence ivory works were developed under the Mughal nawabs. What is lacking in this chapter is the composition of traders, especially those who were connected with overseas trade while it has been argued by some that the fear of loosing caste or religion prevented the Indians from participating in seaborne trade and it is also a fact of history that during the pre-Mughal and Mughal period Indian overseas trade was dominated by foreigners. The sixth chapter takes into consideration the revenue stytem and discusses how the voluntary contribution (Bali) gradually bacame a fianancial obligation of the people. It is also stated that King's share of the produce of land, tolls, customs duties, fines and forfeitures constituted the main sources of state income.

What to my view, a serious limitation of the book is the absence of an attempt to give a general economic conditions of the people on the basis of the prices, classes of people and other materials mentioned in the book. The plates are not adequate for the purpose of the book but the bibliography is very impressive. Whatever criticism may be put forward against the book it is certainly a valuable addition to our knowledge and help us understand some aspects of economic history of the ancient and pre-Muslim period. But at the same time it must be admitted that I am not a competent person to do justice to the merit of the book with my very limited knowledge of this period.

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Book Review

Aditee Nag Chowdhury-Zilly : *The Vagrant Peasant : Agrarian Distress and Desertion in Bengal,* 1770-1830, (Franz Steiner Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany, 1982).

SIRAJUL ISLAM*

Bengal historiography has made considerable advance in recent years. Archival development, improvement in research techniques, increased interaction between scholars through seminars and conferences, foundations of research organisations and reserch journals, and the like have led to enormous research output. New grounds are being constantly broken to justify new studies. The book under review is one of those studies. The present study is concerned with migration aspect of human settlement and mobility. Within the frame of seven chapters, besides introduction, Aditee has told her story about peasant migration and mobility. The purpose of the study has been elaborated in the introduction. "The prime purpose of this study", as she writes, "are to find out to what extent the periphery land India (sic) was "exploited" to serve the interests of the mainland England, and to explore whether this was responsible for changing the structure of the rural system" (pp. 2-3).

The first two chapters have dealt with various aspects of the famine of 1769. The third chapter has touched upon the socio-economic changes wrought by the early British rule. The fourth chapter is concerned with the decline of trade, commerce and industries and its impact on peasant migrations. The fifth chapter has described how the permanent settlement has unsettled the social structure. The sixth chapter deals with the rebellions of the Santals, 1789 ; and the Chuars (Midnapur), 1799. The seventh and final chapter describes how population growth and the laws of the permanent settlement had contributed to peasant destitution and desertion.

The discussions of the issues raised in these chapters have been kept confined to some select districts of Western Bengal, such as, Midnapur, Nadia, Burdwan and Birbhum. Migration studies on contemporary European societies make the model of Aditee's study. But could she fit it well in Bengal context ? Sadly, Bengal migration patterns have not yet been seriously studied historically. Migration is, possbly more a subject for geographers, economists, sociologists and anthropoliogists than for historians. They have also left the historical aspect of the field virtually untouched. Without their aid, historians cannot advance much. Of course, they can also complain in the same vein, that they cannot proceed much without prior historical investigations.

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In this study which is proposed to be an exploration into Bengal peasant migrations on an inter-rural and rural-urban, the author has raised some basic questions to answer. These are : What were the pressures that made peasants leave their villages ? What was the pattern or nature of these movements ? What was the condition of the villages they left behind ? Did they become partially or totally deserted or did others move into the vacated spaces ? Who were the people benefiting from them ?

These are crucial questions. We wish the author succeeded in solving these problems. But could the author take us to her world of peasant migrations ?

Most valid queries turn out to be mere wishful thinking unless these cannot be met by sufficient reliable data. Data on Bengal village settlement, migration, desertion, agrarian colonisations, land use etc. are too scarce to undertake a full scale migration study as proposed by the present author. Thus in spite of her best intention she could not proceed much towards her goal. In the absence of desired data the author often got lost in the steriotype discussions, like famines, revenue policies, decline of native industries, results of permanent settlement, revenue sale laws, rebellions, oppresed peasantry, and the like. Discussions around these steriotypes have never drawn us near to her original questions on migration and mobility.

The author has tried to tell us that natural calamities caused desertions, but such assertion cannot draw our serious attention unless it can be established quantitatively. It is claimed by the author that under the laws of the permanent settlement the rayats were left at the mercy of the zamindar who "as a revenue thirsty tyrant" never hesitated to oust rayats if they refused to pay enhanced rent. If the enhancement of rent is justified by enhanced resources or rise in prices of agricultural products, the rayats must pay enhanced rent or vacate. We must know the quantum of rent enhancement and we must also know the economic or other basis of rent enhancement and at the end, we must know how many people of the districts under survey have deserted their holdings in response to rent rise. The author is silent about these. The author gives us the impression that population pressure on land grew so much so that "ryots vied with each other to get lands at rates offering only a marginal or substandard existence" (p. 161). This implies cultivating occupancy of all arable lands already, and on the top of which there came excess people vieing with each other to get lands for cultivation. Was it really the case ?. If so, it ought to have been substantiated by relevant facts and figures. As we know from the *Thakbast* records (1840-1850), considerable amount of village lands remained uncultivated due to lack of cultivating population. The census and cadastral records suggest that with the growth of population internal colonisation was going on in full swing till the first quarter of the 20th century. Till the last quarter of the nineteenth

century land was abundantly available for reclaimers. Thus it seems incredible that land supply was overtaken by population growth in the early 19th century and that the situation was adversely utilized by the landholders whose eviction measures had "accelerated the process of migration".

The author has also seen a co-relationship between *pattani* system and desertion in the Burdwan region. Had it been the case the desertion problem whould have been most acute in the Bakarganj district where intermediate tenures had reached in some cases upto even twenty degrees in hierarchical order. Yet throughout nineteenth century Bakarganj was noted for in-migration, not for out-migration. It is true that the rent level had increased in Burdwan due to *pattani* system. But we do not know it for certain whether that increase was due to increased productivity or previous underassessment, or mere naked rack-renting. Naked rack-renting is absurd economically because that would normally lead to desertion of productive holdings, and deserted holdings cannot be again agriculturally occupied by others because of the same reasons of rack-renting. A viable economic relationship must be regulating the conduct of intermediate tenureholders. Desertion consequent upon rack-renting by *pattanidars* was the phantom theory circulated by the raja of Burdwan in 1818 with a view to overthrowing all illegal under-tenures below the first degree of pattanidars. But the Prinsep Commission (1818) did not confirm this allegation. There is reason to believe that the *Pattanidars* had been instrumental in increasing the productive power of land and from that they extracted a substantial share in the form of enhanced rent and *abwabs*.

The greatest obstacle to migration and mobility study in historical perspectives is the dearth of necessary quantitative data. Considering the unsurmountable limitations under which the author had to work, her achievement must be considered as impressive. She can very rightfully claim that as the 'Columbus' sailing out into the unknown sea she has been able at least to discover a new area of knowledge which may now receive its due attention from scholars.

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